Reviews

Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Obra antropológica XVI: El negro esclavo en la Nueva España* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994), pp. 214.

'If I get drunk on a Scotch whiskey of proven authenticity, my drunkenness will express itself in the purest Mexican *charro* style and will differ from the drunkenness of a Celtic lord of rank ancestry' [p. 151]. The whiskey may be Scotch, but the response it produces is pure gaudy *charro*. Thus the eminent historical anthropologist Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán explains the difference between the biology and the culture of intoxication. In this collection of essays and reminiscences spanning a distinguished fifty-year career, Aguirre Beltrán intersperses personal recollections among reproductions of the seminal arguments of his career: the importance of the black population in the racial and cultural composition of contemporary Mexico, the contribution of black and Indian communities to the conceptions of magic and healing. And in this collection of essays the personal recollections are the most compelling. In the first essay he recounts a momentous first meeting with Cuban writer Fernando Ortiz Fernández in Mexico City in 1943. Ortiz's *Los negros esclavos* (1916) he signals as one of the founding works of Afro-American studies in the Spanish-speaking Americas. Beyond their common concern with creating a central space for the black heritage of the Americas, Aguirre Beltrán and Ortiz shared a similar interest in the social and cultural uses of plants: Ortiz's *Contrapunto cubano* and Aguirre Beltrán's *Medicina y magia*. Replaying the central themes of past decades, Aguirre Beltrán relates the twentieth-century history of the study of blacks in Hispano-America, the progress of European medicine and its relation to ethnomedicine. He retells several stories: the willingness of Las Casas and other 'saviours of the Indians' to embrace African slavery, the physical and mental agonies of Africans on the 'middle passage', the frequent erasure of blacks from the dominant political narrative of the contemporary Mexican nation – the story of *mestizaje* – despite their indefinable contribution to that narrative. Aguirre Beltrán also turns to the history of both failed and successful negotiations aimed at integrating modern medicine and anthropology in the medical treatment of Indian communities of modern Mexico. But it is the personal reminiscences, such as the meeting with Fernando Ortiz, and the early history of medical anthropology that provide this volume's most illuminating moments.

Rice University PATRICIA SEED

Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico: The First Chronicles of Mexican Civilization, 1520–1569* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1995), pp. xix + 566, $49.95.

Part bibliography, part biography, and part narrative, *Utopia and History* examines the earliest Franciscan descriptions of Mexico's native ceremonies, kinship

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systems, and religious practices. The frequent study of Franciscan Bernardino Sahagún has led scholars to overlook his principal predecessors, Toribio de Benavente (also known as Motolinía) and André de Olmos, both of whom wrote extensively on Nahua life and customs and who composed the first Nahua grammar. The present fragmentary state of both Olmos' and Motolinía's works (and therefore their neglect) is remedied here as Baudot admirably sutures both previously known and recently discovered parts of both men's work together to constitute for each writer a separate complete *opus* on native life customs.

In addition, Baudot attributes the well-known *Relación de Michoacán*, to Friar Martín de la Coruña, not to Maturino Gilberti, who is widely credited with its authorship. And he also identifies Friar Francisco de Las Navas as the original author of the chronicle heavily plagiarised by Alonso Zorita in his *Breve y sumaria relación de los señores*.

Much of the book is devoted to the history of tracking down and assembling fragments, tracing the provenance of pieces now found throughout Europe and America, and some of the charming (and not-so charming) people Baudot encountered in his search.

In his narrative sections, baudot explains the massive Franciscan baptisms of the early years as an effort to create as many nominal Christians as possible in preparation for the Second Coming. While Dominicans (including both Montesinos and Las Casas) demanded profound indoctrination prior to baptism, their attitudes reflected a distinct organisational goal – the ambitions to displace the original Franciscans and their eschatological preparations. Stopping the Franciscans from massive baptisms would profoundly and viciously disrupt their arrangements for the Second Coming. Sahagún's far more pessimistic work dates from a later time when the millenarian vision was dimming and post-Tridentine leaders increasingly doubted the orthodoxy among native converts.

Finally, Baudot significantly reframes the Crown's reasons for suppressing Franciscan information on native ceremonies and rites in 1577. He notes that the instructions for the *Relaciones geográficas* issued at roughly the same time included inquiries into the 'tribute, creeds, and good and bad customs' of the Indians. Why, he asks, was the one suppressed and the other not? He points to Philip II's observation in 1575 that the friars' treatises on the natives were profoundly and tellingly critical of the earliest conquerors, and placed Spanish 'sovereignty in doubt' (p. 505). Baudot's own answer is that reinterpretations of millenarian doctrines by secular Spaniards (such as Martín Cortés) and natives (the leaders of the Moxtón revolt) provided the framework for revolts against Spanish rule. And he claims the royal willingness to approve publication of similar material on native rites in Juan de Torquemada's 1615 *Monarchía Indiana* resulted from Franciscan abandonment of hopes for the Final Judgment, and the absence of any significant military threat from millenarianists. While not all readers may be satisfied by this explanation, Baudot has reformulated a major question by removing debate over the suppression of the Franciscan chronicles from a simple-minded narrative of free speech vs. censorship and into a far more complex area in which similar information was being actively sought by the Crown and its officials. This recontextualised approach should provoke significant new research into the differences in descriptive structure, content and narrative style among the different reports on native rites and ceremonies in the first century of conquest. In so doing such studies will aid in the reconsideration of both Spanish imperial

and Mexican history. Hence, no serious literary or historical scholar of the earliest reports and chronicles of the natives of Mexico can afford to neglect this book.

Rice University PATRICIA SEED

Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500–1700* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), pp. xxxiii + 285, £34.50.

This pleasant book is easy to read, without controversy, and produces expected results. It deals largely with the Aztecs of Tenochtitlan ('Tenochcans' – so its title is too broad) and has two parts. The first is an effective description of 'actors' in the limited number of wills and lawsuits involving house sites and lands that constitute the book's central data set. Non-specialists will especially welcome the excellent contextualisation of such participants in the colonial legal system along with a clear description of colonial legal process. The second chapter in the first part also attempts to study the lawsuits as social drama. This too is an excellent approach that allows for recognition and control of distortions deliberately and inadvertently introduced into such dual-culture lawsuits, but the data are so limited that scarce insights can be gained into motivations and strategies of litigants, judges or the colonial administration. Although Kellogg may well be correct that the interaction of these constituencies in the legal realm strongly influenced the transformation of Aztec Tenochcan culture, the limited data chosen for presentation are too coarse-grained to trace the actual process in much detail, particularly during the critical and formative early decades after the Conquest (to *c.* A.D. 1550). In addition, few comparative data from other colonial situations, on which legal and other anthropologists have lavished attention, are used to elucidate Kellogg's Tenochcan case.

The second part of the book is social history. The third chapter of the book provides a good, on the ground description of the distinctive and considerable role played by women in Aztec culture. This solid marshalling of evidence contrasts with the often evanescent musings of iconographers and others on this subject. Kellogg, however, could well have taken the best elements of this other approach to gender in Aztec society to provide additional contextualisation. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that her observations regarding the (non-minor) jural status of Tenochcan women are important, perspicacious, and should be of considerable interest to students of comparative law.

Kellogg moves further into the domestic realm in the book's fourth chapter. Her discussion of pre-Conquest inheritance law, however, is inadequate and makes the changes in kin behaviour she identifies less striking. Perhaps Kellogg avoided the 'rules' approach in the sources dealing with this topic due to the persistent (and misguided) distaste of many legal anthropologists for rules-oriented analysis. These 'rules', however, are actually more equivalent to summaries of actual behaviour perceived by the best ethnographers of the day and would have illuminated her study more. Kellogg is at her best here showing how the transmission of property between siblings decreased and transmissions between lineals and even spouses increased over time. Failure to use the analytical distinction between property and residence rights, however, blunts her analysis

in the same way that neglecting the distinction between inheritance and succession (e.g. to extended family head) lessens the insights gained in the fifth chapter on changing family structure.

In the fifth and final chapter before a nicely succinct conclusion, Kellogg maps out changes involving a gradual de-emphasis of kin groups larger than the nuclear family for residence and other purposes along with an increased prevalence of, and emphasis on, monogamous couples who gained (or were faced with) more choices regarding post-marital residence. Kellogg continues to de-emphasise the 'lineage' aspects of the key jural concept of *tlacamecayotl*; hopefully Central Mexican archaeologists and cultural evolutionists will take note. Finally, it is important to note that this chapter rather suddenly introduces additional reasons for the cultural transformations Kellogg outlines, thus exposing the need for a more massive approach in earlier chapters.

Kellogg's tool box is weighty and her social history bottom-up approach is a welcome addition from an anthropologist. Her data, however, are too scarce: her insistent focus on the very special case of Tenochtitlan and its wills and house site and land litigation is too constricted to provide either a very 'thick' or fine-grained history. The fact that the book's lines of argument proceed so smoothly is worrisome. Kellogg has made a variety of high-probability estimates regarding colonial Tenochcan historical processes, but as always, the devil will be in the details.

Houston, Museum of Natural Science JEROME OFFNER

Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp. xiii + 478, $32.95.

The filter of violence continues to serve historians to distil new interpretations of social life in the colonial period. In this work, Steve Stern assumes that situations of tension and violence between men and women develop and express people's understanding of a gender culture *sui generis* to its time and place. In New Spain gender culture is understood as a process of contestation that allows for challenges, accommodations and demarcation of spaces where the line of no-return must be learned by the historical actors. He has picked three areas: Morelos, Oaxaca and Mexico City to test his thesis, allowing for the variations lent by ethnicity in Oaxaca, the multiracial environment of small landholders in Morelos, and the plebeian set of urban life in the capital. Colour and class interject themselves into all situations and affect all actors.

Stern posits that a complex interplay of gender rights and obligations marked the boundaries of behaviour for both sexes. The exercise of patriarchal rights and the contestation of those rights determined the texture and variety of relationships in the areas under study. Among the many intriguing ideas developed in this book are the weapons used by women to contest the overwhelming power of men, such as the pluralisation of patriarchs – sheltering oneself under the power of several men – and the construction of female alliances. Strategies did not always work, violence ensued, and a variety of mediating characters and circumstances intervened to make the outcome understandable, if not always fair.

In Morelos he sees more male violence and confrontation. In Oaxaca he sees a match of female contestation and submission, and a more ambivalent view of violence. In Mexico City he detects a crisis of the pact of understanding between men and women, and an anguished society in which the two sexes seem to have been fighting a bitter war over daily expressions of power.

Stern's secrets are his three-pronged theses or conclusions: that it is possible to reinterpret social history in colonial Mexico (and beyond) by looking into the symbols of gendered behaviour; that the notion of a single code of honour is ineffective, and that female complicity in their own subordination is not an acceptable proposition any longer.

The characterisation of different forms of gender behaviour and responses in the three zones under study is challenging, and will certainly bring the debate that Stern seeks with this work. His desire to see in each region a variation of other regions, mini-spaces where Mexico replicates itself and finds a basic unity, challenges regional characterisations and tries to overcome the drift towards a fragmented interpretation of Mexican history. Stern also wishes to recast the interpretation of Mexican political history by proposing a reassessment that would include the notion that popular (or subaltern) voices engage in a dialogue with those who impersonate patriarchal values to validate and incorporate the concepts of contingent rights, conflict, abuse and solidarity, into political situations. The author has assumed a heavy burden with this book: a reinterpretation of the national character and popular gender archetypes based on the study of the contours of patriarchal society at the end of the colonial period. This challenge to established historical interpretations will certainly elicit controversy. However, Stern will probably be pleased: he will be living his own metaphor by contesting traditional stereotypes and the conventions of the *viejos*.

Arizona State University ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

Margarita Suárez, *Comercio y fraude en el Perú colonial: las estrategías mercantiles de un banquero* (Lima: IEP Ediciones, 1995), pp. 137.

The broad outlines of the shifting structures of official trade between Spain and Spanish America in the colonial period are now reasonably clear to historians, thanks to the detailed scrutiny of shipping registers undertaken during recent decades by the Chaunus, García Báquero, García Fuentes and Fisher. Similarly, the general aims and application of imperial trade policy, particularly for the late seventeenth century and the Bourbon era, have been revealed by Walker, Fontana, Bernal and others. A common feature of most of these general analyses is that they seek to measure the patterns of registered trade rather than that which succeeded in by-passing customs officials (some glimpses of the much more extensive activity that functioned at both ends of the system behind the official façades have been provided by Vila Vilar's work on Portobello and Delgado Ribas' on Barcelona). The broad-brush studies have succeeded, nevertheless, in providing a framework for much more detailed analyses of the activities of individual entrepreneurs, including, in the case of Peru, an important recent study by Cristina Mazzeo of a prominent late colonial merchant, José Antonio de Lavalle (reviewed in *JLAS*, 27, pp. 474–5).

The present study (like that of Mazzeo) exploits valuable notarial sources to reconstruct the business activities of a prominent financier of the early seventeenth century: Juan de la Cueva, who, after several visits to Peru as a commercial agent of merchant houses in his native Seville, settled in Lima in 1615, aged 35, and rapidly established himself as a prominent wholesale merchant and banker, exporting silver, on his own behalf and as an agent for others, to both Portobello and Seville for the purchase of merchandise for sale in the booming Peruvian market. Although the collapse of his business in 1635 (with debts of a million pesos) demonstrated the precarious nature of heavy investment in a commercial system that was vulnerable to not only the hazards of shipwrecks and piracy but also the confiscations and forced loans imposed by an impecunious crown, large profits were normally made from both official business and the contraband activity that functioned alongside it. This brief study leaves many questions in the air – including the precise circumstances of its subject's bankruptcy – but it is interesting and important, primarily because of the new light it throws on the direct involvement and increasing influence of the *peruleros* – the merchants based in Peru – in the organisation of trans-Atlantic trade in the 1620s and 1630s.

University of Liverpool JOHN FISHER

Tamar Herzog, *La administración como un fenómeno social: La justicia penal de la ciudad de Quito (1650–1750)* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1995), pp. 352.

This fine study, based on careful archival research in Spain and Ecuador, examines the penal justice system's operation in the *Audiencia* of Quito between 1659 and 1750. After analysing the institutional framework of judicial power, Tamar Herzog then explores the network of personal, business and family relationships that produced a legal system where 'the separation between institutions and society did not exist' (p. 307). This engaging book presents a convincing and well-documented picture of how factionalism and local influence-peddling set the context for judicial decision-making in Quito.

According to Herzog, justices of the *Audiencia* of Quito heard cases (most often prepared by subordinates) in a crumbling courthouse, with little real coercive power to enforce their decisions. Prisoners escaped virtually at will from the ramshackle jail, and only public support for the judicial process allowed it to function at all. In addition, the 'openness' of the penal justice system to local influence stemmed from a variety of factors – the sale of bureaucratic appointments, simple bribery and influence-peddling, and the accretion of power by lower-level officials over the day-to-day operation of the courts. This tangle of business, family and social connections with local families thoroughly undermined both the judges' ability to enforce any predetermined legal norms and their capacity to serve as political brokers, mediating between the needs of the crown and local society.

Although this book provides a lively and colourful portrayal of the administration of justice in Quito, it is difficult to generalise too broadly about colonial legal practices from data about the *Audiencia* of Quito. This tribunal was infamous for political factionalism and its susceptibility to influence-peddling,

which contributed to the crown's decision to suppress the court temporarily in 1719 after creating the Viceroyalty of New Granada. Moreover, Herzog might have addressed more directly the role of racial, class, or ethnic hierarchies in determining the 'openness' of the judicial process to local influence. Finally, the author could have justified his decision more clearly to confine the study to the years 1650–1750, particularly when the overthrew of the *audiencia* by a popular insurgency in 1765 appears the more logical culmination of the problems raised in this study.

These criticisms aside, Tamar Herzog renders the complex political factionalism in colonial Quito more intelligible, and also provides a plausible picture of the penal justice system's operation. In addition, after reading this study, students and specialists alike will understand a great deal about judicial documents and the institutional processes that produced them. This fine book demonstrates the ongoing importance of colonial legal and institutional history, and it deserves a wide readership.

The Ohio State University KENNETH J. ANDRIEN

Evelyne Huber and Frank Safford (eds), *Agrarian Structure and Political Power. Landlord and Peasant in the Making of Latin America* (Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), pp. viii + 242, £49.95.

The grand theorists of social development – from the giants of Marx and Weber to the pygmies of Mann and Giddens – usually focus squarely on the Old World, neglecting the Americas in general and Latin American in particular. Displaying reciprocal disdain, empirical historians of Latin America have usually neglected grand social theory. True, both structural Marxism and dependency theory have had their historical acolytes (now much reduced in numbers); but many were theorists first and selective, self-justifying historians second; they pillaged history to prove theory, rather than using theory to illuminate history. And more recently, the postmodernist turn has consigned grand theory to limbo. Given this lack of constructive dialogue – evident in several theoretical sub-fields (e.g. the study of revolutions, nationalism, state-building) – Huber and Safford's *Agrarian Structure and Political Power* represents a belated but welcome attempt to relate Latin American to a familiar corpus of grand (or middle-range?) theory: that propounded by Barrington Moore in his influential *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966; Peregrine Books, 1969).

True to form, Moore neglected Latin America – indeed, he neglected 'small' countries in general. The continent receives two passing references, one of which suggests ('on the basis of admittedly inadequate knowledge') that Latin America 'remains in the era of authoritarian semiparliamentary government', a stage comparable to inter-war southern and earlier Europe (Spain, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Greece), which Moore saw as the antechamber to fascism (Moore, 1969: 438). (This comparison has since been fruitfully developed by Nico Mouzelis in a book, *Politics in the Semi-Periphery, Early Parliamentarism and Late Industrialization in the Balkans and Latin America* [Macmillan, 1986], which the *politólogo*/comparativists in this volume overlook.) However, Moore's general thesis – that 'modern' outcomes are strongly conditioned by past landlord/

peasant relations – seems appropriate for Latin American application and, indeed, the volume fully justifies this expectation. Five historians apply Moore's thesis to particular Latin American cases: Arnold Bauer on Chile, Tulio Halperín Donghi on Argentina, Florencia Mallon on Peru and Mexico, Frank Safford on Colombia, Lowell Gudmundson on Central America. Safford also offers a brief historical résumé, based on conference comments (some of which are particularly apposite and worth further discussion), while Evelyne Huber, author of a useful introduction, combines with John D. Stephens to present some broader, comparative conclusions.

The book works well on two levels. First – at the risk of damning with faint praise and discounting the novelty of the exercise – it should be said that the individual 'country/region' chapters offer succinct, useful analyses of particular histories, viewed through the panoramic optic of landlord/peasant relations over the *longue durée*. While these chapters do not aspire to *Cambridge-History*-style comprehensiveness, they are, certainly in the cases of Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Central America, authoritative syntheses which, in telling the story of landlord/peasant – and, therefore, state/landlord – relations, shed a good deal of light on broad social and political trajectories; and, as such, they warrant swift inclusion in student bibliographies. Mallon's chapter is a different matter: the author focuses more narrowly (for 'nineteenth-century Mexico and Peru' read 'Morelos, 1855–67' and 'Cajamarca 1879–1900'); she therefore reprises work already published, notably in her acclaimed but controversial *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, 1995); and, as the narrow focus suggests, she makes much less effort to engage with Moore than the other contributors. Her chief conclusion – that 'we need to think of class alliance and political culture, not only as terms coined to analyze dominant class battles, but most importantly as concepts that allow us to think historically about the role of different popular classes and movements in the making of national politics' (p. 95) – is fair enough, but does not much advance the discussion.

The other historical chapters are more wide-ranging and involve more or less determined efforts to test Moore's thesis, thus fulfilling the purpose of the book. Bauer, in a model analytical essay, is sceptical: Chilean landlords were no more authoritarian and repressive than the Chilean bourgeoisie; furthermore – a key point of general validity – Chile's political vicissitudes cast doubt on a thesis which suggests deeply rooted and durable democratic or authoritarian proclivities; in short, Moore is largely irrelevant to the Chilean story. Halperín, weaving a complicated narrative, is similarly sceptical: Argentina was born liberal, lacked peasants, eschewed labour coercion, and acquired a state relatively autonomous of landlord interests. Again, Argentine regime change sits uncomfortably within a broadly deterministic model. Safford, too, is doubtful. Colombia was regionally fragmented, economically diverse, possessed of a weak state, hence unfamiliar with labour-repressive agriculture. This might help explain the Colombia outcome: a government 'democratic in form … [but] aristocratic in spirit' (p. 145). But Safford is nothing if not cautious: 'in all of this [analysis of Colombia] there are elements that can be crammed into a modified version of the Moore framework; but the total picture is so mixed as to defy easy and categorical generalization' (p. 146). Gudmundson, in an excellent résumé of Central America, is the most positive. (Moore's thesis has already been deployed, notably by Enrique Baloyra, in the Central American context). The old

conundrum of Costa Rican democracy seems amenable to a Moorean analysis: we have coffee smallholding, a coffee-processing commercial bourgeoisie, and class coalitions leading to a competitive electoral regime. Conversely, the 'reactionary despotism' of northern Central America (Guatemala and El Salvador), premised on coercive agriculture, fits the bill tolerably well. Thus, simplifying a complex history and argument, we find a 'neo-Victorian' south and a 'neo-Bismarckian' north; Central American agrarian history, though complicated by the US presence, 'provides a wealth of materials for exploring the Moore theses, both in terms of expected outcomes and insuperable obstacles' (p. 170).

If the historians in this volume are predictably cautious, the *politólogo*/comparativists are no more boldly conclusive. They make several valid points. The uncertainty of Moore's *terminus ad quem* is one that recurs: at what point does the end-point of democracy, or authoritarianism, materialise; how can it be theorised in a continent where régime change has been endemic? But there is a checklist quality to this analysis, compounded by Huber and Stephens' valiant but over-ambitious conclusion, which attempts to reprise the five case studies, while introducing several more: Paraguay, Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay, Venezuela, Bolivia, Western and Central Europe, British Settler colonies, and Japan. There is a tendency for the breathless detail to break the back of the comparative analysis; some of the history is wrong; and the conclusion of the conclusion is, again, mildly anticlimactic: Moore gets a pat on the back for 'teach[ing] us to remain sensitive to historical contingencies and multiple paths to the same [*sic*] outcome' (p. 233).

It is hard to disagree with this; and it is not easy to see how, given the episodic, narrative quality of Moore's book, more robust conclusions could have emerged. But I have the sense that the authors sometimes take Moore too literally, treating his book as a programmatic analysis, rather than a set of suggestive historical narratives. Since Moore was concerned with the Old World (plus the USA), his thesis needs substantial re-tooling if it is to be applied in the New World. For example, much of Moore's analysis centres on the intricate choreography of four socio-political actors – landlords, peasants, the bourgeoisie and the monarchy – one of which (the monarchy) is conspicuously absent from the Latin American scene. Post-1820 Latin America (and this book largely omits the colony) was not an *ancien régime* society; the gyrations and coalitions evident in seventeenth-century England, eighteenth-century France, even nineteenth-century Prussia or Japan, are of limited application; and the very definitions of 'landlord' and 'bourgeois' demand serious re-thinking. The cases of the United States (compared to Argentina?) or even India (compared to Mexico or Peru?) might repay closer comparison with Latin America; yet, oddly, these cases are neglected. (The conclusion, pp. 188–9, makes a good deal of the importance of foreign investment in Latin America as if this were a factor entirely absent from Moore's cases, which it isn't.) Moore's specific conclusions, I suspect, are fairly constrained and conjunctural, hence they make poor transatlantic travellers. His more general argument, however, is simple: 'routes to the modern world' (whatever that is) are varied; unilinear models are questionable; 'bourgeois revolution' leading to democracy is but one of several routes; and landlords and peasants – as well as bourgeoisie and workers – play an important part in the determination of routes. In its day (the later 1960s) this was a more heretical and innovative argument than it may seem now. Nevertheless, it retains its usefulness

– its 'heuristic value' – which this book, drawing on some expert historians, successfully teases out. The book is a good idea, well executed, and will be read with interest – even by those who have little time for Barrington Moore in particular, or grand theory in general.

St Antony's College, Oxford ALAN KNIGHT

Carlos Marichal (ed.), *Las inversiones extranjeras en América Latina, 1850–1930: nuevos debates y problemas en historia económica comparada* (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica/Colegio de México, 1995), pp. 297.

For thirty years writing on foreign investment in Latin America has been dominated by the debates over informal imperialism and dependency. These controversies put the focus very much on issues of power, as well as conditioning historians' interpretations of the evidence in the archives. However, this field of study is now changing rapidly. First, it is becoming clear that capital markets and entrepreneurial organisation before 1914 were not bounded by national frontiers in Europe or North America: some companies could be truly multinational with respect to the sources of their finance, boards of directors, and managerial and technical expertise. Second, there has been a movement away from traditional subjects, government loans and railways, towards other business activities, of which urban utilities and commercial banking are probably the most important. Third, historians have begun to look more closely at both the regional economic impact of foreign investments and their social effects. Fourth, developments in business history in Europe and the United States are infiltrating Latin America, in the shape of a growing interest in modes of business organisation, the development of entrepreneurial talent and management within firms, and inter-company relations. These changes, together with the increasing availability of archival sources both in Latin America and overseas, are breathing new life into the subject. The twelve essays in this very useful volume, based on papers given at the XIth Congress of the International Economic History Association in 1994, illustrate this well.

The organisation of the book runs from the global to the particular, commencing with a somewhat inconclusive attempt by Christian Suter to identify Kuznets and Kondratieff cycles in the history of foreign investment from a world-systems perspective, and concluding with a much more stimulating essay from Jonathan Brown and Peter Linder highlighting the importance of worker pressure in allowing the Mexican and Venezuelan governments to exert greater control over oil. The twelve papers can be divided, though, into two groups, those which summarise finished or well advanced research projects and those which offer early assessments of a field, delineating potentially interesting lines of enquiry. The former include, beside Brown and Linder's study of oil, polished papers by Charles Jones on British investment groups; George Young on German direct investments; Christopher Amstrong, H. V. Nelles and Raúl García Heras on various tramway companies; and Andrés Regalsky on the French railways in Argentina. The most important of the more tentative pieces are probably the two brief essays by Paolo Riguzzi and Mario Cerutti, which began to question Coatsworth's interpretation of Mexican railways; Flávio de

Saes and Tamás Szmrecsányi on the Brazilian banks; and Eduardo Cavieres on foreign business in Chile.

The inclusion of such papers draws attention to the possibilities for new work on foreign investment, in particular on the opportunities it presented for domestic business and on its social impact, a topic which should encompass consumers of the products and services provided by foreign companies as well as their workers. The interaction between local businessmen and foreign commercial banks is an issue that stands out as requiring much greater research. However, the most original contribution here probably comes from the group of essays which consider tramway and electricity enterprises. Taken together they portray the complex financial and ownership patterns which developed amongst the power companies; the problems of the under-investment which occurred if government regulation was too heavy; and the nationalist sentiments they aroused (current privatisers, please note!). They also draw attention to some of the home economies which have been under-represented in the literature to date: the Canadian, German, Swiss and Spanish. This is not to belittle the other essays, but rather to highlight the fresh contributions which are being made to research on foreign investment in Latin America, and which Carlos Marichal's entrepreneurship in organising this volume has brought to a wider audience.

University of Liverpool RORY MILLER

James William Park, *Latin American Underdevelopment: A History of Perspectives in the United States, 1877–1965* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), pp. xii + 274, £35.00.

In 1821, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams observed, just before (reluctantly) extending diplomatic recognition to the newly independent states of Latin America, that 'though he wished them well, he considered their prospects bleak' (p. 14). This underlying attitude on the part of US citizens towards their southern neighbours has changed little in substance since then, argues Park, who charts 'a notably consistent and enduring patterns of disdain' (p. 4). His book opens with the debates stimulated in 1870 by President Ulysses Grant's proposal to annex the Dominican Republic; it concludes, neatly, with the OAS-sponsored invasion of the island in 1965. On both occasions, argues Park, the problems of this Latin American republic, as was to prove the case with all the others, were represented as primarily internal: by 1965, explanations based on race or climate were no longer deemed to be credible, but there was still an emphasis on cultural factors (p. 224). According to Park, the modernisation theory beloved of many US social scientists in the late 1950s simply provided 'a pseudoscientific patina for traditional attitudes', thereby perpetuating ethnocentrism (p. 202).

It is difficult to dispute much of this, and Park's well-written and highly readable book is a richly detailed and judiciously measured account of the persistence of US prejudice towards Latin America. He also notes (although more would have been welcome on this) the essential ambivalence of US attitudes: the negative stereotype of the 'greaser bandido' (p. 12) has, at various stages, been countered by images of Latin America as a land of tropical splendour and vibrancy. This happened particularly in the mid-nineteenth century when US

artists and travel writers represented Latin America as richly beautiful, exciting and alluring, again in the 1920s, with the 'enormous vogue of all things Mexican' (see Helen Delpar's book of the same title [1992]), and, above all, in the early 1940s, when Latin American music, dance, art and crafts became highly fashionable. Of course, a similar ambivalence has characterised Latin American attitudes towards the United States: each of the Americas has represented the other as barbarous; and each has identified in the other something they have felt to be fundamentally lacking in their own culture. In the shorthand of stereotypes, just as Latin America has longed for the material prosperity of the United States, so the United States has craved when it saw as the Latin abundance of vitality.

Park quite legitimately devotes little space to the question of Latin American views of the United States because, as he argues, this topic would warrant a book in its own right. However, another of his introductory disclaimers raises more serious problems. He specifically states that he is not aiming to relate perspectives to the formulation of policy, but instead to pursue the 'more-modest goal' of charting the evolution of 'the salient interpretations of Latin American underdevelopment' and relating them to the emergence in the 1960s of competing theories of development (p. 6). The difficulty with this is that there is quite a lot of discussion of policy in the book: each chapter opens with a substantial review of policy changes in the period under discussion and then moves on to an analysis of perceptions. Within such a structure, the lack of any explicit intention to relate policy and perceptions becomes problematical, because in the juxtaposition of the two surely some kind of connection between them is implied, but the reader is left uncertain as to what exactly it might be.

The structure of the book also tends towards repetition. It all begins to pall somewhat after the third chapter illustrating US clichés about Latin America as a land of limitless bounty, condemned to poverty because of the defects of a lazy, mongrel race, the pernicious effects of a tropical climate, and the legacy of Hispanic authoritarianism. An argument based on historical continuity might have been more interestingly sustained by a thematic rather than a chronological approach. Nevertheless, Park's book offers a valuable synthesis of material, most of which is partly available in earlier publications, but which has not been brought together previously.

University College London NICOLA MILLER

Eduardo Posada-Carbó (ed.), *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1996), pp. x + 285, £45.00.

The last ten years have witnessed an increasing concern among historians with a topic that had attracted only marginal attention in the previous decades, elections and electoral practices 'before democracy'. A renewed interest in political history, together with a profound revision of its more traditional tenets, have led to the reformulation of some of the basic questions posed by the study of past polities and politics. Thus, faced with the classic problem of the legitimacy of political power in societies that entered the era of secular government and liberal

representation, scholars are looking at elections and electoral practices in a new light, confronting the conventional views that regarded them strictly in instrumental or manipulative terms, and advancing innovative interpretations based on original research. The resulting studies concern specific periods and areas both in the Americas (North and South) and in Europe, from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, when the main developments leading to the foundation of a political order based on the principle of popular sovereignty and modern representation took place.

The book now edited by Eduardo Posada-Carbó brings together ten country studies from both continents. He follows a pattern that was inaugurated by Antonio Annino and Raffaele Romanelli, who – as early as 1988 – edited an issue of the Italian journal *Quaderni Storici* devoted to the electoral history of several Latin American and European countries. This volume – not listed in the otherwise quite thorough 'Selected bibliography' included at the end of Posada's book – dealt with most of the main issues now being discussed in electoral history; in many ways, it set an agenda for scholars in both continents. Following this pioneer effort, more recently other comparative volumes have been put together in Spanish, but I believe this is the first publication in English to cover electoral history in both areas.

Eduardo Posada-Carbó has produced a well-balanced and highly stimulating book. Organised roughly following a chronological order, it includes four chapters devoted to various aspects of very different European electoral experiences – those of England from the late seventeenth century to the First World War, analysed by Frank O'Gorman; Ireland in the nineteenth century, by K. Theodor Hoppen; Germany between 1871 and 1914, by Margaret Lavinia Anderson, and Spain roughly in the same period, by Carlos Dardé; one chapter that deals with the common history of Spain and Spanish America in the revolutionary years of 1808–10, by M.-D. Demélas and F.-X. Guerra, and five others that are centred on Latin American cases: Mexico in the second decade of the nineteenth century, by Antonio Annino: Ecuador in 1861, by Juan Maiguaschca; Colombia between 1850 and 1930, by Malcolm Deas; Buenos Aires before 1912, by Paula Alonso, and Chile in the nineteenth century, by J. Samuel Valenzuela. In a short introduction, the editor underlines the importance of the new perspectives in electoral history, presents the main issues posed by the different chapters, and ends by emphasising 'the historical significance of elections to democratic developments' (p. 12).

Although all the articles are concerned with the common topic of elections and electoral practices, both the methodological perspective and the thematic focus vary considerably from chapter to chapter. Thus, while the articles by Demélas-Guerra, Annino, Anderson, Alonso, and Valenzuela offer original contributions based on the study of specific cases, those by O'Gorman, Maiguashca, Hoppen, Deas, and Dardé advance broader interpretations that summarise both their own earlier findings and the work of others in the same field. As to the thematic contents, it is hardly possible to cover them all in a short review. Three main clusters deserve, however, a special mention. The problems posed by the liberal principles and the modern forms of representation in otherwise traditional societies are discussed in the subtle pieces by Demélas-Guerra and Annino. A second group of topics relates to the diverse mechanisms and practices that were developed in order to stage and win elections, and that connected the political

elites (and would-be elites) and the rest of the population in various and complex forms. In one way or another, most articles touch on this matter, but the clearest formulations are contained in the articles by O'Gorman and Valenzuela. Finally, the main contribution of this volume is made by the chapters that deal with the role of the Church and the priests in the electoral life of several countries, and particularly by the provocative piece by Hoppen and the well researched and elegantly argued article by Anderson. Although not all its chapters are equally solid and appealing, the book addresses the main problems that are currently being discussed in electoral history, and represents a valuable contribution to the present debates in the field.

Universidad de Buenos Aires HILDA SABATO

Antonio Annino (ed.), *Historia de las elecciones en Iberoamérica, siglo XIX: de la formación del espacio político nacional* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995), pp. 479.

In 1932 C. E. Chapman referred to universal suffrage – together with 'ignorance' and 'turbulence' – as the 'great ally' of Latin American *caudillos*. 'Out of these', Chapman pointed out, 'there developed that curious phenomenon, the Hispanic American election.' Curious as it may be, the phenomenon had failed to attract, with a few notable exceptions, the curiosity of scholars. Indeed, in his introduction Annino observed how the electoral history of Latin America was trapped by a sort of 'black legend', where suffrage was devoid of any significance. This picture has gradually been changing, as historians unravel the intricacies of political processes that cannot easily be encapsulated. Annino identifies two major features that underline the importance of the subject: the extraordinary precocity of the Latin American experience, and the intense history of electioneering in the region.

The task of reconstructing the history of Latin American elections has to start from basic lessons in constitutional and legal history. These are not simple matters. Words have to be carefully interpreted to appreciate their real meaning. The early legislators of Buenos Aires, as José Carlos Chiaramonte observes (Chapter 1), favoured the expression *vecino* over that of *ciudadano* and, when the latter was used, it was often unaccompanied by any formal definition. This ambiguity had practical implications for representative practices, as it conditioned the structure of the electorate. It also symbolised the transition from the *ancient régime* to the new orders, where traditional forms of representation coexisted with modern political language.

The untangling of these processes, during the crucial first decades of experience with representative politics, is the subject of several chapters of this book. Annino examines how the vote, as established in the Cádiz Constitution, gave way to municipal autonomy in Mexico. Marco Bellingeri looks at the ambiguities of the suffrage in Yucatán, and at how this affected ethnic relations. Lúcia Maria Bastos P. Neves analyses the emergence, and the limits, of a new political culture in Brazil following the introduction of elections for the *Cortes Gerais e Extraordinárias* of the 'Portuguese nation' in 1820. Marie-Danielle Demélas-Bohy discusses the nature of political practices in the Andean world,

where the indian population was mobilised in the elections of 1813–14 and 1820–3.

The development of elections varied from country to country and from region to region. Unlike Ecuador, where economic and literacy restrictions were introduced by 1830, countries such as Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru enjoyed a wide suffrage. The evolution of the electorate in Peru, which arguably received a setback after the reforms of 1896, is the subject of Gabriella Chiaramonti's chapter. She examines the consequences of the early acceptance of an extended suffrage, and the apparent contradictions involved in the political process. Even in cases of a formally restricted suffrage, as J. Samuel Valenzuela demonstrated in his pioneering study on Chile (1985), popular sectors were involved in Latin American elections since the early nineteenth century. Detailed studies of electoral registers – such as those of Paula Alonso for Buenos Aires (*JLAS*: 25, 1993), or of Hilda Sabato, also for Buenos Aires, and Herbert Klein for San Pablo in Brazil in Annino's book – suggest a varied social composition of the electorate. Moreover, both Sabato and Klein emphasise the popular element, although it changed from constituency to constituency.

How was this electorate mobilised? Under which conditions did electoral practices evolve? There are no simple answers to these questions. Richard Graham argues that Brazilian elections during the empire were controlled by powerful local bosses, often linked to the interests of rural landowners. Fraud and violence, as shown by Marianne L. Wiesebron, were also present in Brazilian elections, even after the *Lei Saraiva* of 1881. Nevertheless, elections were also accompanied by other aspects of electioneering worthy of consideration: the electoral press analysed by Ema Cibotti, or the role of the electoral clubs examined by Hilda Sabato. Electoral competition in the state of Buenos Aires might have been suppressed by Rosas, extending to the cities a practice already established in the countryside, as shown by Marcela Ternavasio. But the development of competitive elections in post-Rosas Argentina – or in nineteenth century Chile and Colombia – deserves more careful attention. The latter two countries are not studied in Annino's collection, mostly focused on Mexico, Argentina and Brazil. However, this volume offers an excellent sample of scholarship, which should encourage further research in what has hitherto been a neglected field. As Natalio Botana observes in his closing remarks, the elections of Latin America pose new hypotheses and questions that historians ought to address.

Institute of Latin American Studies, London

EDUARDO POSADA-CARBÓ

Eduardo Posada-Carbó (ed.), *Wars, Parties and Nationalism: Essays on the Politics and Society of Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1995), pp. iv + 107, £10.00 pb.

This is the first volume of studies arising from the Institute of Latin American Studies' annual international workshops on nineteenth-century Latin America, and in itself an interesting compilation of articles on one of the many untouched problems of the region's history. And not a marginal one at that, for only just

over a decade ago throughout most of the area the question about the fragility of the political institutions was a most important matter.

This small volume comes as a very useful addition to the many efforts made over the last two decades 'to fill an obvious gap'. For despite the diversity of the five papers included, their overriding concern with political organisations, nationalism and the role of the state gives it a certain cohesion, a commodity which is often in very short supply when articles and papers are assembled for publication in book form.

A short preface by Posada-Carbó is followed by a stimulating account by Fernando López-Alves on the role of wars in the origins of political parties in Uruguay from 1810 to 1851, in which the author, convincingly, argues that the wars did mobilise large segments of Uruguayan society, thus creating long-standing partisan loyalties, encouraging the emergence of new social classes and creating the bases of a political culture of participation.

War also plagued Mexico during the first three quarters of the century, and it is against that background that Guy Thomson carefully analyses how attempts to assert regional sovereignty between 1824 and 1892 often resulted in armed rebellion. Local autonomy, an aspiration shared by all sectors of some local societies, was originally encouraged by liberal constitutions and as regional power was more diffuse, federalist tendencies sometimes led to the breakdown of what the author calls 'historic regions'. And such was their strength, that local rebellions remained frequent even after the start of centralising efforts in 1867. Assertion of local sovereignty remained an important political issue during the 'porfiriato'.

In a very different analytical track, Frédéric Martínez's chapter – the weakest of the five – examines the different perceptions of Europe and the embryonic nationalist feelings which emerge from partisan divisions in nineteenth-century Colombia. Liberals and conservatives not only saw the 'old continent' with different eyes, and thus constructed diverse representations, but they also elicited contradictory conclusions and proposals designed to legitimise their proposals for the organisation of the country's polity.

In 'Los partidos políticos en la Argentina, 1890–1914: programas y plataformas. El caso de la Liga del Sur', Carlos Malamud makes a thorough analysis of the growth of a regionally based party by the turn of the century. La Liga del Sur came closer to the concept of modern political party since, contrary to traditional and even new ones, it did not base its actions upon the personal appeal of a charismatic leader but rather along the lines of a well-defined programme which proposed municipal autonomy against the centralising tendencies of the state's capital, fiscal decentralisation and the granting of political rights to foreigners. In the context of a society in as fast a process of modernisation as was Argentina between 1890 and 1914, the Liga del Sur can be considered as a most representative evidence of a changing society.

In the last contribution to this volume, David Brading deals with the problems of 'Nationalism and State Building in Latin American History', in which he argues that nationalism was a late-comer in Latin America. It developed, in its romantic form, as a reaction to modernity, classical republicanism, the cult patriotic leaders and the elevation of the '*patria*'. But as a social, ideological and political force it only became important in the third decade of the twentieth century.

Despite its unevenness, this volume could well satisfy Eduardo Posada-Carbó's hopes in the Preface that it may encourage further discussion and research in a promising field of study. But in order to fulfil such expectations, future editors should make further efforts in order to give to the papers some linking work on a bibliographical essay, and prevent the inclusion of contributions which are clearly out of context. Last but not least, they must make a most determined effort in order to avoid some unacceptable errors. For it is hard, very hard indeed, to read in a publication of the London Institute of Latin American Studies, that '... Napoleon in 1810 deposed the Bourbons and installed his brother Joseph as king of Spain' (p. 94).

Universidad de Santiago de Chile LUIS ORTEGA

Stefan Rinke, '*Der letzte freie Kontinent*': *Deutsche Lateinamerikapolitik im Zeichen transnationaler Beziehungen*, *1918–1933* (Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1996), vols. 1 and 2, pp. 836.

If one doubts wether Nazi Germany had any Latin American policy, one will be surprised to learn that the clearly less active *Weimar Republik* had had such policy. The author points out that he was unable to uncover any hypothetical continuity of pre-war imperialist foreign policy, one perceived in terms of causes, targets and thoughts; the prevailing conditions would have made it impossible for such a policy to be implemented, anyway. He maintains, nevertheless, that the *Weimar Republik* did develop a modern foreign policy, and yet he states clearly that *Lateinamerikapolitik* did neither originate from, nor was implemented by, the German government, or any other central entity for that matter, as it was formed by the contentious interactions between the German government and transnational agents. What he calls the Latin American policy of the *Weimar Republik* seems to be a heterogeneous set of German attitudes towards, and views on, Latin American countries, which includes the German government's attitude spelled out by its foreign policy. Of course, the concept of foreign policy and the concept of international relations are not the same. The author's actual approach finds its reflection in the very structure of the book. Its four parts cover: (1) economic 'foundations' of German *Lateinamerikapolitik* (investments, trade, shipping), (2) Latin American aspects of the *Weimar Republik*'s foreign policy (diplomatic relations, German policies of export promotion and German two-way trade policies), (3) the overseas Germans' dual role as an agent and a target of the *Lateinamerikapolitik*, (4) other non-government actions (German military advisers, arms export, air lines' activities). The 26-page-long closing remarks refer to German foreign policy.

While reading the book, one cannot help thinking that it is a collection of foreign policy oriented studies presented as one *opus* (it is the author's dissertation) under a somewhat pretentious title, divided into two volumes by a bookbinder. The author's intention, we are told, was to abandon the '*traditionellen Modell der internationalen Politik*' and approach his topic from the '*transnationalen Politik*' standpoint to include other than diplomatic or state agents or participants in transnational relations. *Par ma foi*! For more than 25 years I have been speaking prose without knowing it. No, conceptualisation is definitely not the author's

forte. Why introduce a grand notion of 'class and party antagonisms', it it merely serves to allude to Uriburu's *golpe* or to a concept of '*Volksgemeinschaft*' in Germany? What is the explanatory potential of such concepts like the 'freedom of movement [sic] of official [sic] German foreign policy' (p. 756)? The category of 'nationalism' is used indiscriminately, as if it meant one and the same thing in Latin America and Germany; the author defines the notion of '*Deutschtum*' as '*etnisch*' and does not discard it as a valid analytical category; Latin American countries' policies *vis à vis* Germany have been given less than a superficial treatment, etc., etc.

Yet, apart from this, the author is a pioneer; he has tackled an insufficiently researched topic in German history. The true attraction of this book consists in its drawing very amply upon the heretofore uninspected material from the German archives (including former GDR); it offers a richness of data in virtually all the chapters, therefore it merits a systematic and detailed presentation and discussion, not just a brief review. Each and every serious researcher will have to take the author's detailed findings into consideration. Since German is not widely spoken, translation into Spanish would make sense, lest the book might share the fate of other publications on German–Latin American relations in even less known languages.

Embassy of Poland,
London

RYSZARD STEMPLOWSKI

Judith Ewell, *Venezuela and the United States: From Monroe's Hemisphere to Petroleum's Empire* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. x + 266, $50.00, $20.00 pb.

From the days of Venezuela's revolutionary independence movement to the present, its relations with the United States have been coloured by policy priorities in Washington. Venezuela has always been confronted with the difficulties in dealing with the dominant hemispheric hegemon. It has only been during the years since its emergence as a prime supplier of petroleum and its byproducts that it has been able to assert some degree of independence. All of this is detailed with care and precision in Judith Ewell's historical analysis, which constitutes the tenth volume in The United States and the Americas series organised by Lester D. Langley. As the author of *Venezuela; A Century of Change* (Stanford University Press, 1984) and other works, Ewell has long since established herself as a leading authority on Venezuelan history. Thus, her most recent contribution is an especially welcome addition to the literature. Drawing upon the best archival sources in Caracas, Maracaíbo, and Washington, along with extensive field experience as teacher and scholar in Venezuela, Ewell has penned an informative work which probes deeply into the reality of the relationship.

Beginning with an especially enlightening discussion of the large ignored pre-independence origins from 1790 to 1830, she follows a logical chronological progression which carries through into the decade of the 1990s. The first four chapters reach 1912, and document a series of events in which the United States periodically flexed the Big Stick in one form or another. Gunboat diplomacy was far from unknown, although the relationship was less simplistic than is often

portrayed in general treatments of the nineteenth century. The remaining four chapters begin with the initiation of oil-influenced ties under the long dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez, the storied 'Tyrant of the Andes'. As Venezuela eventually rejected *cesarismo democrático* and moved toward democratic modernisation, its domination by the Colossus of the North receded.

Given the character of the book, the relationship during the democratic era from 1958 cannot receive exhaustive attention. Readers seeking a more extended discussion must look elsewhere. However, Ewell's task was that of painting a chronologically broad canvas, which she does with both scholarly professionalism and felicitously bright writing. Moreover, and in some ways most importantly, she brings to the work an understanding of subtle cultural qualities which underlie basic attitudinal differences between the United States and Latin America. As noted in a brief but cogent consideration in the introductory chapter, 'If cultural ideas do indeed drive much of a nation's international projection, one might expect a degree of discordance between the United States and Venezuela' (p. 1). Without making exaggerated claims for the impact of cultural patterns, Ewell notes that the early contrasts in the thinking respectively of Simón Bolívar and James Monroe can in a sense be carried all the way to the closing years of the twentieth century. We are reminded of the Venezuelan folktale in which the clever rabbit Tío Conejo outsmarts the ferocious tiger Tío Tigre to ensure its survival and a degree of independence. The traditional folktale 'provides a metaphor for the history of Venezuela's relationship with the United States' (p. 2), and helps to illuminate the bilateral relationship so skilfully traced throughout the book.

The Pennsylvania State University JOHN D. MARTZ

William E. French, *A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico*. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), pp. ix + 262, $40.00.

During the final years of the nineteenth century, the mining boom that had swept across northern Mexico reached the district of Hidalgo in Chihuahua. Farming and mining communities were transformed by the arrival of the railway, new mining technology and foreign capital. Changes in land use and ownership, and the devaluation of traditional mining skills and work practices, had a profound effect upon the existing social order.

This book analyses the ensuing period of social re-alignment and how the Revolution affected this transition. The author scrutinises the manner in which the middle and working classes constructed themselves in relation to each other, and argues that moral or 'cultural' criteria were central to this process of class formation.

By establishing high standards of morality and social conduct, the middle class sought to differentiate itself from those perceived as socially inferior. French sees this as part of a greater effort by a group that included state government and mining company officials, to transform the masses into a peaceful, reliable workforce. Dress and etiquette defined a person's social standing, while the 'degenerative vices' of the lower classes were to be controlled and removed from the midst of decent society.

Yet French provides evidence that suggests a more subtle process of social alignment. Although pre-industrial traditions and shared work experiences contributed towards a common, working-class moral code, it appears that sectors within the work force aspired to the morals and manners of 'decent' society. Mutual aid societies and, during the 1920s, unions and political parties emphasised the virtues of dignity and sobriety. French argues that by reflecting such ideals, the artisans and skilled workers who belonged to such institutions were asserting their own distinct position in local society. Not only did the demand respect from, and equality with the middle class, they also disassociated themselves from the unskilled, transient sector of the work-force.

Having chosen moral reform as a central theme, it would have been interesting to know what role, if any, religion played in the process. A major theme in post-revolution reform concerned the government's attempt to replace the Catholic Church as a moral guide within the Mexican family. If this process had already taken place in the district of Hidalgo before the Revolution, it is not only interesting in itself but poses further questions regarding the nature of the struggle between the competing interests of Catholics, Protestants and liberal reforms; the extent to which the influx of migrants from other, less secular regions altered the status quo.

The omission of such issues does not, however, detract from a study that is rich in both material and comparative analysis. In a concise, succinct manner, French provides findings that both confirm and call into question various aspects of our understanding of this pivotal period in Mexican history.

The University of Warwick, *Comparative American Studies* KEITH BREWSTER

Linda B. Hall, *Oil*, *Banks*, *and Politics: The United States and Postrevolutionary Mexico*, *1917–1924* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press), pp. x + 224, $40.00, $17.95 pb.

Linda B. Hall, currently Professor of History at the University of New Mexico, is well known in the international community of Latin-American studies as one of the best foreign specialists in the history of the Mexican Revolution. Her particular interest is focused mainly on the first periods of that great social movement, and her special concern is of the itinerary of one of its most prominent figures, General Alvaro Obregón (one has to be reminded, at this point, of her valuable study, *Alvaro Obregón: Power and Revolution in Mexico*, *1911–1920*, first published in 1981).

Although being a professional historian, Hall not only tried to write a strictly historical book, but also to set up a theoretical interpretation of the political, economic, financial, legal, diplomatic and even social interrelations between the emerging postrevolutionary Mexico, from the presidency of Venustiano Carranza (1917–20), and the overwhelming world-power the USA became after World War I. This allows her to use history in the best way to demonstrate the real aim of her work: to explain and interconnect the facts rather than just narrating them.

Repeatedly going through the period under analysis, the author makes interpretations and concepts that we have to taken into consideration in order to understand what really happened, and what were the results, using a

comprehensive range of historical sources. The narrative is presented as a solid background from a praiseworthy effort of historical reconstruction and the results are, in more than one sense, illuminating.

Examining the shape that a triumphant revolution could have had once in power (and following the remarks of Theda Skocpol, who studied the cases of the French, Russian and Chinese revolutions), Hall closely analyses Obregón's performance, during his presidency (1920–4), up against perilous dealings with the US government, which colluded with ambitious, powerful and arbitrary private interests operating in Mexico. The principal issue here was of the recognition of his government by the USA, and Hall analyses simultaneously the facts covering the many battlefronts Obregón's government had to engage in, one by one with those private foreign interests and the particular line he took with everyone.

The stories of Albert B. Fall, Edward L. Doheny, Weetman Pearson, Joseph Guffey or William Green, among other politicians and businessmen involved in the struggle for Mexico's natural riches, are astonishing and reveal how intimately linked and intermingled political and economic power was. They continuously jeopardised the institutionalisation of the new Mexican government, as well as their own companies and properties. The final outcome was clear: Obregón was able to manage the situation, and both he and the Mexican Revolution survived.

Nevertheless, Hall points out that all this had heavy consequences for the political and economic development of Mexico, and she goes on to hypothesise that even the (so called) *delahuertista* rebellion could have been avoided if US interventionism in Mexican affairs had been less coercive and more accommodating. That of course is a subject, like others, which is open to discussion, but it is to Hall's credit that she is able to give a clear and well-informed exposition of all the elements that made up this era of Mexican history.

Institute of Latin American Studies, ARNALDO CORDOVA
University of London

Esteban Barragán López, Odile Hoffman, Thierry Linck and David Skerritt (eds.), *Rancheros y Sociedades Rancheras* (Zamora and Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, CEMCA and ORSTOM, 1994), pp. 334.

This volume offers some lively contributions to what is, happily, a growing focus of interest; the role of *ranchero* communities within the historical processes which shape the social complexity of rural Mexico. As contributions to an International Symposium on the subject held in Zamora in 1993, the papers represent a broad range of perspectives, based on case studies from a variety of regions. The studies present analyses of communities which differ widely in the nature of their insertion into large political, socio-economic and cultural contexts at regional, national and international levels, yet which, as the authors demonstrate, reproduce varying combinations of a range of characteristics which constitute *ranchero* identity. These include the 'frontiersman' – like legacy of the historical colonisation of often remote and inaccessible territories; private property holding, often associated with extensive cattle-ranching; the valorisation of the qualities of familial independence and individualism, entrepreneurship and

pragmatism; and, in Western Mexico at least, a staunch Catholicism. A further characteristic is the cohesion of *ranchero* communities with respect to 'outsiders', despite internal differentiation; the nature of relations within the communities of the JalMich Highlands, between landholders and the landless, between men and women, and how these reflect relations with the land and territory, are sensitively examined in the papers by Barragán López and Linck, and by Chávez.

Bataillon's selection of the 'economic' characteristics (private property holding and production for markets) of *rancheros* in abstraction from their social and cultural context enables him to make comparisons with producers in other Latin American countries but sacrifices what is socially and historically specific to Mexican *ranchero* communities. There is in the book as a whole a slight over-emphasis upon the *rancheros*' productive activities, and it perhaps is this which prompts Brading in his concluding overview to identify as a problem the need to clarify the distinction between *rancheros* and *pequeños propietarios*, and between *rancheros* and *campesinos*. I feel that the question of definition is something of an artificial problematic. The distinctions between these categories are extremely mutable and entirely negotiable, and the construction of *ranchero* identity lies not in its distinction from, but in its *relation to* the *ejidatarios* and *comuneros* of the land reform sector and the *pequeños propietarios* of the region, in social and political as well as economic senses. That this is the case, and that the nature of these relations differs widely in context, is eloquently demonstrated in the papers by Hoffman, Léonard, Shadow and Rodríguez-Shadow, Hernández Moreno and Camou-Healy. The first premise in identifying a community as *ranchero* must be, as the editors indicate in their introduction, that the community continues to identify itself as such. This self-identity has been central to the dynamic of *ranchero* migration to the cities, and to the nature of business and residential expansion within urban areas, as described by González de la Vara and Cabrales Barajas.

The historical origins of the *rancho* have been located in a general sense between the *latifundio* and the communal indigenous lands (Skerritt); it is perhaps this heritage which has led to the perceived opposition of the *ranchero* to the 'indian' to which Schryer alludes. The need to address *ranchero* ethnicity, and to examine the historical, social and political contexts within which it is constructed and reproduced, is elegantly argued in the papers by Schryer and by Shadow and Rodríguez-Shadow.

Overall, as the product of an imaginative conference, this volume makes a solid contribution to redressing the relative neglect of a dynamic and heterogenous culture which, paradoxically, has provided some of the most enduring images of Mexican identity.

University of Bradford, KATHY POWELL
Department of Social and Economic Studies

Robert H. Holden, *Mexico and the Survey of Public Lands: The Management of Modernization, 1876–1911* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994), pp. xvi + 235, $30.00

Drawing on previously unavailable archival materials, Robert Holden seeks to explain the Porfirian government's use of private contractors to survey public lands and to assess the impact of the subsequent transfer of territory from public

to private hands. The book addresses important issues in pre-revolutionary historiography, seeking on the one hand to establish the relative autonomy and effectiveness of the Porfirian state and, on the other hand, to prove that the activities of the surveying companies were not a cause of the Revolution of 1910.

The surveying strategy was simple enough: surveying companies were contracted to establish the boundaries of the public domain; for every survey, the contractor received one third of the territory surveyed, which it could then use or sell. The government expected that the transfer of land to private hands would spur economic growth by establishing property rights and provide much needed income for government coffers (for the government intended to sell its two-thirds share).

In the end, the government sold 52 million hectares of surveyed lands; the surveying companies ended up with 21 million hectares. The peak of activity was the decade from 1883 to 1893, during which 87 per cent of all land awarded in compensation during the Porfiriato was given to the companies – about a tenth of the national territory. In the six states studied by Holden, the land transferred for compensation went to about 50 private enterprises, one third of them foreign owned. Holden concludes that this was the quickest and most economical means to the government's ends.

Holden argues that the survey process contributed little to tensions over land tenure before the Revolution. Government regulation of surveyors was strict, abuses were uncommon, and, in general, titled property – including that of peasant villages – was respected. Holden writes that 'there is simply no evidence that the survey companies extensively usurped worked or titled land'.

The one significant limitation to this argument, as Holden acknowledges, is that the sources make it impossible to demonstrate unequivocally that landholding did not become more concentrated as a result of the survey companies' activity. Holden's research shows that land given in compensation was frequently subdivided, but he notes that land was often further divided, lost to creditors, or resold. Holden notes that most surveying was completed two decades before the Revolution broke out; that leaves plenty of time for land concentration to increase (or decrease) as a result of the surveys. We remain without conclusive evidence on this topic.

And concentration may not be the main issue. Holden's data leave open the question, perhaps impossible to answer, of what became of previous occupants or users of the surveyed land. In his conclusions, Holden states that those who acquired the land as a result of the surveys – the companies and those to whom they sold their parcels – 'could scarcely be called usurpers', because previous occupants had never had a legal right to the land. Former occupants of surveyed land might be forgiven for failing to grasp this distinction. While Holden may be right for much of Mexico that expropriations carried out by 'individual landowners acting well outside the sphere of public land policy' were the principal source of grievances over land, privatisation of public land in the North – in which the surveying companies played an important facilitating role – seems to have proceeded at the expense of previous beneficiaries. The imposition of new legal boundaries, the subsequent fencing off of land, and the loss of traditional, informal rights surely contributed to rebellion in Mexico's arid northern states.

In his tightly focused, carefully researched study, Holden has done a masterful job of grappling with evidence on the surveys of public lands. His conclusions

regarding the Porfirian state – the logic of its policy-making strategies and its autonomy from the forces it is sometime thought to have been captive to – are unassailable. Holden's research also shows, however, that much remains unknown about the role of land tenure in setting the stage for the Mexican Revolution in the North.

University of California, *Los Angeles*
DAVID LOREY

Edward Gibson, *Class and Conservative Parties: Argentina in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. xx + 274, £40.00.

Edward Gibson's book constitutes the most ambitious analysis of Argentine conservatism to date. Although Gibson pays special attention to conservative dynamics from the last democratic transition to Menem's presidency, he does not limit himself to this period. In particular, the analysis of previous historical phases as well as the use of cross-national comparisons allow Gibson to establish which factors prevented the emergence of a strong conservative party in Argentina.

Gibson's study underlines the importance of regional cleavage for the formation of conservative parties, showing that in those societies in which the upper classes confronted strong regional cleavages, the formation of national conservative parties was severely hampered. Thus, according to Gibson, the absence of a strong conservative party in Argentina resulted from the cleavage between the Pampean upper classes and those of the interior. Illustrated in recent years by the differences between the UCD and provincial parties, this cleavage is also traced by Gibson back to the divisions that split conservatives before the 1916 presidential election. However, here Gibson does not provide enough evidence regarding the existence of regionally grounded differences in the economic programmes of the two main 1916 conservative leaders, Lisandro de la Torre (himself a member of the Pampean bourgeoisie) and Marcelino Ugarte, the Governor of Buenos Aires, also supported by some conservative groups from the interior. In this sense, the argument that it was the lack of threat that hampered the formation of a united conservative alternative in 1916 continues to be highly plausible. In this argument, the absence of revolutionary threats in the Argentine party system decisively constrained the electoral possibilities of conservatism on the national scene. Since Radicalism attempted neither to transform the socio-economic system, nor to challenge a well-entrenched Catholic church nor to delegitimate efforts to further the process of nation-building, the incentives to build a unified conservative national party were not strong enough to neutralise other sources of political division within the conservative ranks. In addition, this situation made it very difficult for conservatives (though in no way impossible, as the 1930 elections showed) to obtain mass support among the middle classes. In fact, as Gibson himself indicates, the existence of serious class-based challenges can weaken regional cleavages and may favour the emergence of national conservative forces (p. 223). In any case, as Gibson so insightfully explains, this initial conservative failure dramatically affected the subsequent dynamics of the Argentine party system.

In conclusion, Gibson's book is the most comprehensive study of Argentine conservatism to date. His analysis provides crucial information regarding the electoral and political evolution of Argentine conservatism during Menem's presidency. In addition, his emphasis on the importance of regional cleavage, so often glossed over in the study of Argentine politics, contributes to a better understanding of the dynamics of that country's conservatism. Finally, one of the most important merits of Gibson's book is that it goes far beyond the Argentine case and provides us with an insightful, theoretically challenging contribution to the comparative study of conservative parties.

Universidad de Salamanca IVÁN LLAMAZARES

Felipe Portocarrero Suárez, *El Imperio Prado: 1890–1970* (Lima: Universidad del Pacifico, Centro de Investigacion (CIUP), 1995), pp. 312.

Politics has long been a high-risk pastime in Peru, and the economic elite has, for much of this century, shunned politics for more lucrative activities, preferring to influence policy from the wings rather than take centre-stage. The most conspicuous exception to this rule was the Prado family. Manuel Prado y Ugarteche was twice president (1939–45 and 1956–62), epitomising the aristocratic politician; his brother Mariano was the linchpin of Peru's wealthiest and most extensive business empire; and two other brothers, Javier and Jorge, also played significant political roles. The Prado family therefore provides a most telling case-study for the effect of political power on business development and *vice-versa*.

It is thus somewhat surprising that this pre-eminent family has not attracted more by way of academic research. Felipe Portocarrero seeks to remedy this deficit with this lucid, well-written study. To the existing literature, he adds a great deal of fresh archive material, especially on the business transactions of the Prado empire. As a sociologist, Portocarrero is primarily interested in the Prados not just as political or economic actors *per se*, but as participants in (and contributors to) a whole aristocratic ethos.

In fact, as Portocarrero makes clear, the Prados were not very traditional aristocrats. Firstly, their line was not a very long one. Mariano Ignacio Prado y Ochoa, the father of the 'clan', first arrived in Lima from relative provincial obscurity in 1853, and made use of a military career and marriage to move up in the world. Secondly, the Prados' wealth was not based on agriculture or mining, but on incipient industrialisation and subsequently banking activities geared to the domestic market.

Portocarrero argues that it was for this reason that, politically, the Prados – and Manuel Prado in particular – stood out from most of the rest of the Peruvian elite in coming to terms with the rapid social change of the 1920s and 1930s and the new political formations that arose as a consequence, notably APRA. This relationship took formal shape in the *convivencia* after 1956, but had its roots 20 years earlier. Thus *pradismo* was 'politically, the most flexible, heterodox and persuasive section of the Peruvian ruling class'.

However important the political role of the Prados, Portocarrero's book is not a political history, and those interested in this aspect may find his treatment of the

two Prado governments frustratingly brief. He is more interested in the relationship between politics, business and social standing. The chapters on the business empire developed by Mariano Prado (and subsequently by his son) give a fascinating glimpse into how family ties and strategic alliances with other oligarchic groups led to the development of an empire, which had the Banco Popular at his heart but whose interests spread out into textile manufacture, urban real estate, paper, oil refining, cement and other activities. Portocarrero is also at pains to examine the role of the Prado family in other spheres of activity, notably in academic and intellectual life. A useful genealogy helps illustrate the way in which these familial interests were bound together.

Portocarrero divides the story into what he sees as three phases: (i) the formative (up to the mid-1930s); (ii) the 'golden age' (the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s); and (iii) the period of decadence and decline (ending in the early 1970s). Like the treatment of other empires before it, such dividing lines may be a bit artificial and overdo the cyclical nature of power and its accumulation. Nevertheless, the 'rise and fall' of such a pre-eminent family over just three generations is noteworthy. The speed in the decline of the family fortunes in the 1960s and 1970s is particularly rapid, and underlines the point that oligarchic power (and not just that based on landholding) was already at a low ebb when General Velasco intervened in 1968 to 'restructure' Peru on new lines.

This account of the Prado dynasty is an important contribution to Peruvian historiography, inviting further comparative work on other elite groups during the first half of this century.

Oxford Analytica JOHN CRABTREE

Ronn F. Pineo, *Social and Economic Reform in Ecuador: Life and Work in Guayaquil* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996), pp. xviii + 227, £45.00.

The roots of contemporary urban problems were often planted in the nineteenth century, when cities faced equally significant migration-fuelled growth rates (proportional to their populations), chronic under-funding and frequent disruption by violent changes of government. This is true for Guayaquil and yet, this was the city which marshalled cacao exports for more than 40 years (1870s–1922) when Ecuador was the dominant world supplier. Although its population expanded tenfold, it did not exactly flourish. Pineo's patient piecing together of a wide range of unpublished government documents, supplemented by consular and traders' records, explores this paradox. He attributes it to the structure of cacao production, the city's peripheral position in national power structures, the lack of civic responsibility by the wealthy and the repercussions of grossly inadequate urban investment during a period of continuous and rapid migration, which arose from the dismal conditions of the landless in the sierra, as much as from the aura of wealth associated with cacao.

Guayaquil's misfortune was that cacao required remarkably little permanent labour and investment in processing. Thus it did not generate the purchase power to encourage industries, and could tap no other, given its isolation from the densely populated sierra. Furthermore, cacao revenues were siphoned off to

maintain the capital, its highland regime and frequent war-mongering, at the expense of local living conditions at a time of very rapid growth. The chronic poverty and insecurity of the majority is depicted through the occupations, wages and prices of foodstuffs, compared to the persons and companies worth over 100,000 sucres. While exports and imports were handled mostly by foreigners, the wealthy mostly frittered away their fortunes on ostentatious consumption. Much attention is focused on disease, as lack of sanitation, coupled with periodic epidemics of malaria, yellow fever and plague, soon earned the city the title of 'pesthole of the Pacific'. Ultimately, the workers' political weakness, whose peaceful demonstration against desperate conditions as the boom waned ended in a massacre by sierra troops, reflected the city's peripherality and ensured that it suffered disproportionately again.

This is a fully documented and very readable account of 'life and work in Guayaquil' (the book's subtitle); I am not sure it illustrates much in the way of 'reform' – that had to wait till the coastal population grew to challenge the sierra's power structures. Unfortunately, many of the municipality's laments sound contemporary.

Department of Geography & Topographic Science, *University of Glasgow*

STELLA LOWDER

Marta Irurozqui, *La Armonía de las Desigualdades: Élites y Conflictos de Poder en Bolivia, 1880–1920* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas/ Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos 'Bartolomé de Las Casas', 1994), pp. 237, pb.

This is an analysis of Bolivian élite discourse in the great age of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century liberalism. Irurozqui argues that the Chuquisaca and La Paz fractions of the 'national elite', beset by external and internal weakness and fear, used the image of the Indian to fuel and resolve their rivalries. She focuses particularly on one conjuncture when this 'elite project' was discursively regenerated: the 1899 Civil War which shifted the seat of government from Sucre to La Paz with massive help from Aymara peasants whose leaders were then shot for 'barbarism'.

What is new is the analysis of the discursive means by which certain well-known events were brought about. This is essential if we are to escape the economic reductionism which still pervades much liberal historiography in Bolivia. Irurozqui also offers a useful account of early twentieth-century créole discourses on the Indian, and of the church's efforts to modernise and recover its role in Bolivian society at the end of the freethinking nineteenth century through offers to 'civilise' the Indian masses through education.

Why, then, does the book leave one worried? Perhaps because her analysis suggests that everything outside elite discourse (the collective imagination, social organisation, economic rationalities and political ideals of non-elite groups, for example) is irrelevant to 'national history'. This distortion affects all discourse analyses which stick with the logic of their objects without establishing an independent position from which the content of those discourses can be viewed. Irurozqui polemicises with Bolivian authors who see in the Indian a 'genetic'

solution to national problems created by the elites. Well and good; but her own position is that 'Indians' were like puppets, reacting in an almost stimulus–response model to an historic programme enacted by rival fractions of 'the elite'.

For Irurozqui, 'if the elite's mobility and interests condition the opportunities for ascent and improvement on the part of the subaltern groups, an understanding of the popular world must pass necessarily through a study of the elite'. It could equally be argued that, if popular interventions and reactions to elite projects may modify the conditions in which those projects can be realised (and even change or postpone them), an understanding of elites must pass necessarily through an understanding of subaltern groups. No single tale can be sufficient on its own.

This interpretation will charm the modernising neoliberals in Bolivia – those who secretly believe (however pluri-multi their public rhetoric) that enough is enough as far as Indians are concerned, and the sooner they become good Western citizens the better. Hence, perhaps, recent efforts by police to gas Potosí communities engaged in their May ritual battle (*Presencia*, *Literaria* p. 5, La Paz, 19 May 1996) raised scarcely a squeak of protest among intellectuals and politicians in La Paz (see, however, *La Razón*, *Cultura* p. 6, La Paz, 2 July 1996). But the idea that Andean or even 'national elite' histories can be written without trying to *understand* Andean majorities is a scholarly and political cop-out. Irurozqui is a talented and provocative writer, able to move well beyond this one-dimensional posture.

University of St Andrews TRISTAN PLATT

Marco Palacios, *Entre la legitimidad y la violencia: Colombia 1875–1994* (Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia: Grupo Editorial Norma, 1995), pp. 386.

Marco Palacios's book is the Spanish version of the second half of Oxford University Press's forthcoming history of Colombia, the first part being in the hands of Frank Safford. Their brief is to produce an introductory history, and their work will therefore come between David Bushnell's recent *The Making of Modern Colombia* and the multi-volume *Nueva Historia de Colombia*, edited by Alvaro Tirado Mejía, in the competition to supplant that long-surviving old text by Henao y Arrubla.

This volume is certainly a welcome candidate. The author has faced formidable challenges: more than a hundred years of a difficult republic – some countries are easier than others – to be written at a time of historiographical and political flux; a format that does not allow for much of a protective display of erudition – there is an excellent bibliographical essay, but very few footnotes; and an ignorant public – Colombian history is far less familiar to natives and to foreigners than is that of any other major Latin American republic. He has produced a forthright and consistently intelligent, informative and argumentative account, that anyone interested in the country's recent past will have to read. When it is combined with Safford's volume, which is billed as setting out more spaciously the social and economic points of departure, it will surely remain for a long time on even the shortest Colombian reading list.

Palacios has chosen to write a fairly straightforward politico-economic narrative, in which the reader does not get lost. Those new to Colombian history will acquire a structure, and at the same time the familiar scholar will be

stimulated by judgements that rest on both erudition and involvement. As one would expect from the author of a distinguished monograph, *El café en Colombia, 1850–1970. Una historia económica, social y política*, 2nd ed. 1983, and a notable Rector of the Universidad Nacional, not a position for a political innocent, Palacios is both academic and *mundano*: abreast of the advances that Colombian historiography has made in recent decades, he carves them up with a certain worldly authority. From time to time one questions it, but the style pays off in pace and control.

Notable strengths are his geographical range, particularly necessary in this vast and varied country, and the easy way that economic and demographic developments are woven into the main narrative. Another general virtue is on the whole a happy combination of information and summary, and the rarity of the sort of lapses into allusion that sometimes make introductory histories into commentaries. No name-dropping here, either of protagonists or modish historians. Of protagonists, indeed we could have taken the naming of a larger number.

Some criticisms are inevitably awakened by this stimulating read. The author once or twice sees deference in Colombian society where this critic does not, and is rather too free with the word 'vast', which makes me occasionally question the sureness of his sense of scale. A more important criticism is that the book contains hardly any comparative references to the history of anywhere else, and is not strong on Colombia's international relations. It fails here to grasp one of the country's singularities, the virtual lack of external conflict in this last century and a quarter, just one of the elements that have contributed to the peculiar *combinación de males* currently visible.

That combination, the country's present unhappy state, leads the author to project backwards a rather negative tone. Many will agree with much of his diagnosis of current political crisis, though he may underestimate its administrative aspect: the levers of government power in Colombia are feeble indeed. Yet the last three decades have seen great changes in Colombian society: the eclipse of the Church, the change in the position of women, the quantitative and qualitative transformation of the middle classes, the end of the old national isolation, the revolutions in architecture, literature and sport, the profound alteration in the society's view of itself, symbolised for example in the Gold Museum (opened 1968) and all that has derived from it. It is not that these phenomena are absent from the book. Nonetheless they are insufficiently integrated into its arguments about legitimacy. The older sort of history, say Henao y Arrubla, was certainly naïve in its catalogues of progress, but in the reaction against it something is missed. Overall, Palacios does not miss much.

St Antony's College, MALCOLM DEAS
Oxford

Eduardo Posada-Carbó, *The Colombian Caribbean: A Regional History 1870–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. xi + 300, £40.00.

Posada-Carbó's book combines two major ingredients: deep *costeño* feelings and experiences, and sound British scholarship. Both play a key role in the inspiration and technique deployed. Posada has been a leading young figure in Barranquilla

entrepreneurial, journalist and intellectual circles, and his experience enhances much of his views, perceptions and intuitions about Colombian and *costeño* history and politics. Many years spent first at St Antony's, Oxford, and now at the Institute of Latin American Studies, London did the rest.

Posada's previous publications, mostly on Barranquilla (the most important Colombian sea port since the 1870s), put him in a short list of outstanding 'new historians'. This background might explain a *barranquillero* bias, reflected in some sections of the book under review, particularly in the pages dealing with 'town and countryside' (pp. 111–46) and on 'external influences' (pp. 180–212). Although Posada proposes a healthy contrast between Barranquilla and Cartagena (the historical centre of the region from early colonial times to Independence in the 1810s), it seems that this is not enough to accomplish what the author has in mind: interpret 'the role of towns and cities in the integration of the region'. In this respect, one wonders how the urban hierarchies did really work in integrating the region.

Instead, one finds another solution for this problem: the comparison established between, on the one hand, the 'shortcomings' of agriculture, mainly due to low population density rather than to a particular social structure, and on the other, the positive role played by pasture for livestock. The 34 pages dealing with cattle development, in response to a growing national demand for beef, (pp. 76–110), and the formation and cohesive functions of the so-called *latifundio costeño*, linked to idiosyncratic forms of marketing, are most illuminating on the constant interplay between region and nation, and between modern and traditional components in shaping *costeño* political, economic and social life which, in recent years, have become explosive, particularly in the departments of Córdoba, the South of Bolívar, and Cesar.

But Posada is mainly interested in filling in the 'need to understand the nature of Colombian regional diversity' (p. 2). Within this perspective, and once the reader has been provided with a panoramic view of the region, both in its internal diversity and in its uniqueness *vis-à-vis* the Andean Colombia, the author proceeds to introduce subjects which would shed light on how the Colombian Caribbean conditions, and is conditioned by the Colombian nation. And as he reminds us, a nation, in contrast with a region, is much more arduous to be 'imagined'.

In dealing with imagination, I found particularly noteworthy the skills Posada employs. Just to give an example: the long footnote on page 61. After watching on British TV Channel 4 an interview with Gabriel García Márquez (1990) on the banana workers, strike (Dec 1928) and its infamous repression, Posada went to the British Film Institute and obtained the transcript. The endeavour paid well since he is now able to illustrate the novelist's magic frame, and the *gaffe* incurred by so many renowned Colombian historians, and Colombianists, who have been foolishly quoting from *One Hundred Years of Solitude* as a primary source on the massacre.

At another layer, it is interesting to follow Posada's arguments dispelling the cliche of the United Fruit Co. as a mere enclave, completely isolated from the local economy and in total control. Quite the contrary, after reading this section, we understand better the real functions of enclaves in their full integration and interaction with local and national social and power structures.

In the last chapter, on politics, Posada opens crucial considerations scrutinising *costeño* regionalism *vis-à-vis* the centralist leaning of the Colombian state. His

portrait of local political life, and the analysis of relationships between regional and national political leaders (mainly in the Liberal party) and the precarious fiscal basis of all this, is very stimulating, although the answers given are not always clear and precise.

Finally, there are aspects of demography, health, education, cultural values and ethnic and inter-ethnic relationships that a reader would be eager to know. These are lacking in the book. Nevertheless, any reader should be grateful for the breadth and enthusiasm of the undertaking. Surely this book exemplifies an encouraging contribution to Colombian regional historiography.

El Colegio de México MARCO PALACIOS

Jorge Heine, *The Last Cacique: Leadership and Politics in a Puerto Rican City* (Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), pp. ix + 310, $49.95.

This is an important book, simply because it is what it claims to be, a *study*. It is a study of a 24-year mayoral tenure, but it is not a biography of that mayor nor a history of his city. Instead, Heine has written a very intelligent study of mayoral leadership behaviour in a Puerto Rican city.

Heine's study of Benjamín Cole's six terms as mayor of Mayagüez (1969–93) is built around a model of mayoral leadership proposed by John Kotter and Paul Lawrence in their 1974 book, *Mayors in Action: Five Approaches to Urban Governance*. For the bulk of his evidence, Heine used questionnaires he developed from Kotter and Lawrence, and personal interviews with thirty-one leading figures in Mayagüez politics during the Cole era.

Heine's work asks a number of interwoven questions. Why was Mayor Cole, a lifelong Popular Democratic Party (PDP) member, able to keep getting elected, even in years when the New Progressive Party (NPP) won not only the governorship but most of the other major mayoral races on the island? (He notes that between 1968 and 1984, all the other nine of Puerto Rico's ten largest *municipios* saw the mayor's race won by the NPP between two and five times, while Cole repeatedly won in Mayagüez.) What did Mayor Cole accomplish – and how? And how did Cole's tenure and behavioural style fit with the Kotter and Lawrence model?

Heine shows that Mayor Cole's political success was achieved in spite of a pervasive belief that accounted largely for the rapid success of the NPP in the late 1960s: the belief that the PDP wasn't doing much to solve the new urban problems of Puerto Rico. In part, this was because Mayagüez escaped many of the demographic changes that affected most other large communities of the island. In part, too, it was because Cole knew the people of his native city well. He was able to use his supposedly outdated cacique political style – even with its technological inefficiency, with his personal crudeness and flaunting of political and social rules, and with his sometimes poor decisions – to do two things: get re-elected and 'get things done'.

Heine has shown that the survival of the traditional cacique style of the Popular Democratic Party into the age of urban planning and food stamps from Washington was possible in Mayagüez with a strong, dedicated mayor who knew what he wanted to do. In fact, the community was as important as the man in this

survival, for in the 1992 elections the NPP won the governorship and many local races it had not carried before, yet Mayagüez remained 'a bulwark of *popularismo*'.

Benjamín Cole died in 1993, and one wonders what he might have thought of this book. Certainly it is the furthest thing from a campaign puff-piece, but at the same time Heine consistently shows how Cole did serve his community well in many ways, and his quarter of a century as mayor left the community the better in many ways.

Heine's book points out the need for further research into mayoral behaviour throughout Latin America. However, the question arises as to how much of what happens in local government in a US 'commonwealth' can be compared to local government in independent nations. This question aside, clearly the basic impression of this book is admiration for the author's sound, reasonable, low-key approach and conclusions.

Tomball College, TRUMAN R. CLARK
Texas

Thomas O'Brien, *The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Latin America, 1900–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. xiv + 356, £35.00.

There are many studies of the operations of US capital in Latin America. Very few, though, have tried to describe and measure the impact of American capital on the material culture of the enclaves they spawned or on the configuration of class alliances embracing or resisting US enterprises. Comparative studies are even rarer. The appearance of Thomas O'Brien's pioneering study is, therefore, a major event. It is an ambitious attempt, drawing on diplomatic records and company archives, to trace the impact of US corporate culture on six regions. Two short chapters examine the impact of the US-owned *fruteras* on Nicaragua and Honduras. Two chapters trace the ways in which US mining capital (the focus here is on the Cerro de Pasco Corporation) attempted to transform society in the Central Highlands of Peru, in the process eliciting challenges to US-style modernisation from among business people, workers and peasants in the early 1930s. The impact of US investment in nitrates and copper is at the centre of a fourth chapter dealing with Chile. Cuba, the Latin American country most thoroughly affected by the corporate culture of US capital, is the focus of two of the most original chapters, the most interesting of which centres on the US electricity generating enterprise AFP. Two final chapters study the impact of US business on Mexico, in mining and electricity generation, with a regional focus on northern Sonora.

The discussion of the responses elicited by US capital is richly nuanced. US corporations certainly pursued a common goal of inculcating corporate efficiency, radicalising and modernising labour and production processes and professionalising the middle class. In some cases though, Cuba and Mexico are the best examples; US capital not only transformed production and labour processes, but also reached out to promote the development of consumer cultures, frequently with the support of workers.

The ways in which the US message was received by different social classes also varied greatly according to region. Different social groups derived different

benefits from US investment. US corporate penetration, O'Brien argues, initially expanded opportunities for small business and *empleados*, while providing jobs for displaced peasants and workers, many of whom welcomed the higher wages, and sometimes (as in Chile) the systems of industrial welfare introduced by US management. But the late 1920s and early 1930s depression tended to turn these beneficiaries of US 'progress' against US-owned enterprises and their political allies.

In discussing the emergence of nationalist responses to US capital, O'Brien makes much use of the notion of 'Resistance Communities'. In the 1920s and 1930s the economic differentiation and social dislocation brought about by the spread of US corporate capital provoked waves of resistance to US-inspired economic modernisation. Depending on the national context, small business people, the professional middle class, wage workers and peasants might rally together under a common banner of resistance to elements of the US corporate agenda, particularly those developments which most irritated nationalist agendas. The result was a new inflection to popular nationalism and struggles for economic sovereignty and a strengthening of notions of Latin American identity constructed around defence of local communities and reciprocity.

The book's broad historical sweep and cross-national focus make it a most valuable addition to the literature on the impact of the Depression on labour insurgencies in Latin America and on the vast literature on populism and nationalism. More concretely, it will be obligatory reading for students of revolutionary nationalism in a number of conjunctures – the 1933 revolution in Cuba, *Cardenismo*, *Aprismo*, the Sandino insurrection and the banana worker mobilisations on the Atlantic coast of Honduras. A clear writing style and an imaginative use of photographs illustrating facets of US-inspired modernity greatly enhance the value of this important book.

La Trobe University BARRY CARR

Nora Lustig (ed.), *Coping with Austerity: Poverty and Inequality in Latin America* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995), pp. xvi+460, $39.95, $18.95 pb.

How far can adjustment to the changing structure of the world economy and restoration of economic growth be rendered consistent with the pursuit of social justice and the abolition of poverty? This should be one of the main questions on the agenda of today's politicians. If it is not, then they may be confronted with the converse question. Can democratic institutions survive ever-widening income disparities and the continuing growth of poverty?

These issues arise in all continents, but they are particularly manifest in Latin America. The available evidence (see comments below on its quality) indicates that before the debt crisis income inequality was already higher than in other regions of the world. For some major Latin American countries, the subsequent period of crisis and structural adjustment saw an increase in inequality and poverty. Governments reacted in different ways to the need for austerity, but a number were unable, or chose not, to protect the poor. This led to fears of a political backlash, and the Introduction refers to the Chiapas uprising, and to urban riots in Venezuela and Argentina.

In this context, the Brookings volume on Latin America is particularly welcome. The first half treats the region as a whole. In Chapter 1, Nora Lustig provides an excellent summary. Samuel Morley, in Chapter 2, argues that 'macroeconomic conditions are a major determinant of poverty' (p. 65). Ariel Fiszbein and George Psacharopoulos set out the trends in income inequality in the 1980s and examine some of the underlying determinants, concluding that education is the most important variable. Elisabeth Sadoulet and Alain de Janvry use a computable general equilibrium model based on Ecuador to explore how far policy design faces a conflict between equity and efficiency. Margaret Grosh, in Chapter 5, sets out criteria for choosing among poverty programmes which go beyond a narrow cost-benefit analysis. The second half consists of six country studies (for Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela) covering poverty, social policies and adjustment in the 1980s.

There is much in this study on which a reviewer could comment, but the key question to me is: How far did the macro-economic stabilisation and adjustment policies contribute to rising inequality and poverty? Or did they succeed in protecting the poor?

In seeking to answer this question, we need at least four ingredients. The first is adequate data. Here the authors do their best, but the situation is profoundly unsatisfactory. As Nora Lustig points out,

> Countries spend a great deal to measure inflation, the fiscal deficit, output, and the balance of payments accurately. Poverty, income distribution, and social indicators are never measured with equal care (p. 35).

Out of 18 Latin American and Caribbean countries for which there is a household survey (and there are a number for whom no survey exists), only 11 have a survey in the 1980s with national coverage, and in a mere four cases (Brazil, Costa Rica, Panama and Venezuela) can we make a comparison before and after adjustment. If governments are serious about anti-poverty policy, then they need to give higher priority to improving the basic data.

The second requisite is an understanding of the underlying economics, in order to form some view as to what would have happened in the absence of adjustment policies. A formalised way of tackling this problem is the computable general equilibrium model of Sadoulet and Alain de Janvry, one in a series co-ordinated by the OECD Development Centre. Such models are easy to criticise for the violence that they do to reality, but at the very least they challenge the reader to identify the aspects of the model which they would like to amend and to explain how the results are likely to be altered. My own response is that these models need to be developed to introduce the medium-term mechanisms by which redistribution can have positive effects on economic performance: for example, where redistribution towards the poor in one generation leads to higher levels of human capital for the next generation. As they stand, the assumptions of this kind of model tend to preclude moves in the direction of both greater efficiency and greater equity.

Another example of a mechanism by which redistribution may improve economic performance is where it induces greater political stability and this in turn stimulates investment. This brings me to a third element in answering the question, which is an understanding of the political context and the scope for political action. I am not competent to judge in detail the political analysis, but

the blending of economic and political analysis is a forte of the Brookings Institution, and this volume is no exception.

The fourth requirement is that of reflection on the ultimate objectives of policy, and here in my view the book scores less well. The authors tend to take for granted the poverty criterion that they apply. While it may be reasonable to hold constant the real poverty line over a period when the real average wage fell by 30% (as is reported for 1981–9 in Venezuela by Gustavo Márquez in ch. 11), this needs some discussion. Where living standards are interdependent, we may want to take a poverty line which is partly responsive to changes in average incomes.

Only a qualified answer can, therefore, be given to the question whether macroeconomic policies contributed to rising poverty. Nevertheless, those concerned to learn more about the impact of austerity programmes in Latin America should certainly read this book, and those wishing to draw wider lessons (for instance, about the distributional consequences of fiscal austerity in the European Union) will find it a valuable model.

Nuffield College, A. B. ATKINSON
Oxford

Nader Nazmi, *Economic Policy and Stabilization in Latin America* (Armond, N.Y., and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), pp. viii + 207, £44.50, £19.95 pb.

Nazmi has written a well-balanced assessment of the stabilisation efforts in Latin America in the last three decades. He provides a detailed account of the competing theories (monetarist *v.* neostructuralist) to explain inflation; produces comprehensive case studies for Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Argentina and Bolivia rich in factual and quantitative information; presents new empirical evidence for Brazilian inflation; and concludes with remarks on how to restore fiscal balance and foster economic growth.

A common feature to all the case studies was that inflation was caused by terms-of-trade shocks, balance-of-payments shocks and fiscal imbalances that were accommodated by loose monetary policy. However, the neostructuralist claim that money is passive because of widespread indexation of nominal contracts is false. The author argues correctly that the passiveness of money arises out of the fact that central banks are too dependent on governments and are required to accommodate budget deficits and supply shocks. While central bank independence is not a necessary condition for stabilisation, it helps to isolate monetary policy from fiscal mismanagement and to establish credibility.

In the concluding chapter, the principal lesson drawn from the Latin American experience is that sustained growth is not likely in economies plagued with instability and high inflation. Inflation hampers growth because high inflation results in market inefficiency in allocating resources due to uncertainty about relative prices, and in deadweight losses related to diverting resources from the productive sector to the overgrown and inflated financial sector.

The second important lesson is that fiscal austerity is fundamental for lasting price stability. The author argues that fiscal equilibrium should be achieved in the way least detrimental to economic growth. To this end, he recommends cutting subsidies as the best alternative. He maintains that governments should have an

active role in improving infrastructure, health and education. The case for government's active role in providing health and education is hard to dispute; however, its role in providing infrastructure is arguable. If, as the author recommends, the tax burden should be kept low to encourage growth, cash-stripped governments should welcome private capital to finance infrastructure. He maintains that an alternative to privatisation is improving the efficiency of state-run enterprises. In this respect, he should appreciate that politicians of the day can easily mismanage state-run enterprises: Brazilian bankrupt state banks are telling examples.

Finally, to foster economic growth, the author recommends that in the short run the government encourage private investment by implementing supply-side tax policies, but he does not detail these policies. He recommends that in the long run government foster productivity by investing in education. The key for long-run growth and better wages is productivity, as Eugenio Gudin put it in Brazil 30 years ago: 'Brazilians are poor and Americans and Japanese are rich because while the first produce 1,300 kg of rice per hectare, the second produce 4,000 and the third 5,000.'

International Monetary Fund, *Washington, D.C.*

MARCIO RONCI

Rudd Buitelaar and Pitou Van Dijck (eds.), *Latin America's New Insertion in the World Economy: Towards Systemic Competitiveness in Small Economies* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. xxii + 258, £40.00.

This book analyses the transformation of the trade and industrialisation regimes in Latin America by focusing on previous policy mistakes, recent structural changes and future policy challenges during the latest insertion of Latin American countries in the international markets. The first part of the book presents the theory of economic policy behind trade liberalisation, exchange rate regimes, private and public investment and industrial intervention. The second part of the book focuses on particular industrial developments, such as export processing zones, and then places the so-called industrial developments in a more general and long-run perspective, by focusing on their relation with economic growth, social conditions and comparative advantage. Then, five case studies of the policy transformations in Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Uruguay and Venezuela are included, placing emphasis on the theoretical aspects previously mentioned and ranging from macro to micro-firm issues.

Although the topics covered are broad, the general point made in the book is that measures such as those proposed by the so-called Washington Consensus, and including 'fiscal discipline, re-orientation of government expenditures, tax reform, financial liberalisation, the attraction of direct foreign investment, deregulation and the establishment of property rights', are not enough to ensure a successful insertion of Latin America in the world economy.

The editors use the collection of 14 papers included to give strong support for the need to further market oriented measures, deliver institutional upgrade or reform, and introduce social policy measures to alleviate the short-run impact of structural reforms. They also call, albeit with less robust support, for more active industrial, investment and trade policies.

In terms of industrial and investment policies, the editors propose the use of

tax incentives for (industrial) re-investments, availability of long-term credit and technological and infrastructural support by the government. But not too much attention is paid to what regulatory and institutional changes could be made in order to allow the private sector to provide at least some of these conditions.

In terms of trade policy, the editors believe, based on a conclusion by a Linneman paper, that policy should be aimed at 'reducing the bias against trade, not necessarily at free trade'.They also support the idea of policy co-ordination in the reduction of trade barriers and of differentiated speeds of liberalisation depending on the particular conditions of each country. However, not enough attention is paid to the use of these arguments by inefficient domestic firms in order to search for unjustified protection or for opportunistic politicians to cash in short-run popularity and delay liberalisation unnecessarily. Little direct emphasis is put on the importance of multilateral trade liberalisation.

In terms of exchange rate policy, there is a widespread call for a supportive exchange rate and the avoidance of an overvalued currency. However, the terms high, stimulating, supportive and long-run equilibrium real exchange rate seem to be used interchangeably, and this in turn seems to take some transparency out of the argument being made. Also related to semantics is the rather frequent use of the term competitiveness when analysing the role of a country in the world economy, something that may be subject to either criticism or mis-interpretation, as pointed out by Paul Krugman.

Overall, this publication provides a well-organised set of papers on theory, policy and case studies and the fact that some of its main conclusions may be subject to debate, makes this a book of interest to both supporters and detractors of active government policy (particularly in trade and industry) and to anyone interested in the recent structural reforms in Latin America and its future policy challenges.

Institute of Latin American Studies, *London*

HERNÁN VALLEJO

Weine Karlsson and Akhil Malaki (eds.), *Growth, Trade and Integration in Latin America*, 48th International Congress of Americanists, Stockholm/ Uppsala, 1994 (Institute of Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden), pp. ii + 329, $40.00 pb.

In the light of the recent proliferation of regional integration agreements and the ongoing economic liberalisation process, this volume of essays provides a comprehensive and timely survey of the current integration and economic reform process in Latin America. The volume arises from a conference in 1994 and whilst focusing on the themes of growth, trade and integration, ranges over a wide variety of concerns.

The first collection of papers charts the economic development of Latin America since the 1950s analysing the events that led to the fundamental economic restructuring in the 1980s and 1990s and the emergence of a multitude of new regional preferential trade agreements. The origins of regionalism, in particular the Common Market of the Southern Cone (MERCOSUR) and the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), are examined and alternative routes towards stabilisation and integration are considered. A common theme is that liberalisation and economic integration are necessary, but not sufficient

prerequisites for sustained economic growth. Fundamental reform is also vital in terms of institutional and structural measures to increase internal investment and saving, as well as to achieve equality of the distribution of benefits. Most notably, Clarke W. Reynold's paper examines this new phenomenon of open regionalism and emphasises that increased social access, particularly for low income groups are by no means automatic and at a regional level increased attention should be focused on cross-border cooperation in order to strengthen domestic reforms.

NAFTA is considered in detail with a wide range of issues covered and views expressed. The open accession clause is considered by Issac Cohen, who argues that the clause is a positive move that demonstrates the openness of the integration process. Alternatively, Isidro Morales argues that NAFTA's establishment can be viewed as an extension of US foreign policy, allowing for the use of managed trade strategies, with US corporations being the main beneficiary. Björn Hettne and Edmé Dominguez, in a particularly interesting paper, draw on historical experiences to show that 'a trade area without social and political responsibilities only increases social and regional disparities with domestic and intra-state conflicts as a consequence' (p. 178). They note that NAFTA countries have deep-rooted socio-economic and ethnic divisions and remind us that regionalism may be a stabilising factor, but the integration process is not irreversible and depends on the support of the majority, not just governments and businesses.

The industrial impact of economic restructuring and integration is explored through a series of country-case studies. For instance, the reform process and trade policies for Colombia and Ecuador, both members of the Andean Pact, are considered by Maria Mercedes Cuellar de Martínez and Lucio Pablo Paredes respectively and provide a contrast between the positive effects of Colombia's reforms and the 'Dutch disease' encountered by Ecuador.

In sum, this book provides an interesting overview of current thought on the major social, economic and political issues stemming from the process of economic reform and integration in Latin America today.

South Bank University ANN BARTHOLOMEW
London

Jaime Behar (ed.), *Regional Integration and Economic Reform in Central America*, 48th International Congress of Americanists, Stockholm/Uppsala, 1994 (Stockholm: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1996), pp. iv + 198, pb.

The five essays contained in this volume vary greatly in terms of their breadth, depth and quality. By far the best overall piece is Victor Bulmer Thomas' *Strategy and Policy Recommendations for Central American Integration*. It provides a concise account of recent trends and events in the region, makes the case for reconfiguring the regional scheme as a Customs Union with limited labour mobility rather than a full Common Market or Economic Union, and lays out a blueprint for policy actions aimed at bolstering sustained growth in the region. Noting that long-run growth requires the promotion of non-traditional exports in a framework that makes intra-regional and extra-regional trade complementary, it argues for, *inter alia*: the adoption of a real effective exchange rate target; the replacement of consumption taxes by a Value Added Tax; the elimination of non-tariff barriers to intra-regional trade, including the adoption of a competition

policy designed to eliminate monopolistic practices among suppliers and restrictive business practices between producers and distributors; the lowering of the level and dispersion of nominal protection, converging, if possible, to a single tariff rate; and the strengthening of key regional institutions and disciplines.

Fernando Rueda-Junquera's *The New Integration Scheme in Central America and Free Trade in Basic Agricultural Products: Empirical Analysis of the Effects on the Markets for Maize, Rice and Sorghum*, provides a valuable account of the evolving views on the role of agriculture in the regional integration scheme, from the neglect – indeed, anti-agricultural bias – of the past, to the new conception of agriculture as an agroindustrial complex essential to the productive transformation of the region. It also presents an empirical assessment of the impact of liberalising trade in maize, rice and sorghum, concluding that: the region would become a net importer of grains from the rest of the world; the burden of adjustment to production changes would fall mainly on small farmers; and low-income consumers would be the group most affected by both gains and losses in domestic consumption. While such conclusions are not counter-intuitive, they need to be taken with a great deal of caution as the lack of timely and reliable data in the region seriously compromises the empirical results.

The other three articles are much more narrowly focused, and also less compelling. One seeks to ascertain the potential for achieving self-sufficiency in basic grains in the region, arriving at the rather weak conclusion that although it does not appear feasible to achieve full self-sufficiency, intra-regional trade could raise the self-sufficiency ratio for the region – a conclusion somewhat at odds with Rueda-Junquera's findings. A second one attempts – but fails – to show, by comparing Costa Rica and El Salvador, that discriminatory policies benefit industrial development by raising the skill intensity of manufacturing production. The last essay, a spirited indictment against the anti-inflationary policies and excessive aid being foisted on Nicaragua, made for interesting reading, but the dire consequences that were supposed to flow therefrom have not yet materialised.

One final note: the material seems a bit dated, in part because over two years elapsed before the essays were published, and also because a lot has happened in the region during this interval. Still, the volume is a valuable source of references about the region.

Inter-American Development Bank, Washington D.C. SYLVIA SABORIO

Gerardo Otero (ed.), *Neo-liberalism Revisited: Economic Restructuring and Mexico's Political Future* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1996), pp. ix + 278, £13.50 pb.

Otero is seeking to construct a democratic basis for a stable political order to assure long-term economic growth. He has assembled ten thematic essays to explain the deepening political and economic crisis in which the government is floundering to design an effective set of political and economic management tools. The collection heightens our pessimism about the possibilities for a peaceful transition.

The authors usher us through the traditional institutions that reshaped the social fabric of post-revolutionary Mexico. Their goal: to transcend the series of

crises that have afflicted the country since 1976. Economic institutions and actors take centre stage: the negotiations of the Uruguay Round and NAFTA are judged to be 'inadequate instruments to deal with the economic near-calamities … that face Mexico' (del Castillo, p. 38). Although Gates's informative and insightful essay reflects her scepticism that productive goals in agriculture can be achieved, the colophon she selected from an interview with a peasant in the southeast reads more like a tombstone: 'what will happen to Mexican peasants after the free trade tornado?' (p. 59).

The standard presentations of the productive transformations sectors reiterate the profound difficulties that most observers have identified. The lack of linkages of the export-led programme with domestic production and employment obligate all but the most doctrinaire to suggest a revaluing of basic goods production. Unfortunately, Dussel's '"endogenous" framework for … real negotiations" (p. 81) is devoid of clues for moving in this direction. Gereffi portrays the *maquiladoras* as ineffective, without questioning the strategy itself. Similarly, Semo's characterisation of Salinas' 'successful economic policy' (p. 122) conflicts with his puzzlement about how to bridge the gap between the business elite and the social forces at the base of society. Valdes Ugalde and Teichman are more realistic; the former states that 'the privileged circuit of private and public officials' is an adaptation of 'the old authoritarianism to new circumstances' (p. 143) while the latter sees little opportunity for the labour movement to overcome its passive, corporate support for the 'system'. They both might agree that the inevitable 'dismantling of social institutions … must eventuate in a period of social conflict' (p. 145) whose outcome is indeterminate.

Grassroots movements stimulate more perceptive analyses. Stephen's multi-faceted examination of women's organising shows them to be 'critical ingredients to beginning a transition to participatory democracy' (p. 182). Harvey traces the historical antecedents of the Zapatista uprising to show how peasants are not simply farmers (have they ever been?); he correctly anticipates that this peasant-indigenous movement will have to expand 'in defense of the [whole] social sector' (p. 205) even while it depends on the larger society for its own success. Carr's thoughtful examination of decades of cross-border exchanges among labour unions ends on a cautionary note: there is still a long road to hoe before the symmetrical exchanges of a prior epoch can be rebuilt.

Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, *Xochimilco* DAVID BARKIN

Elizabeth Jelin and Eric Hirschberg (eds.), *Constructing Democracy: Human Rights, Citizenship and Society in Latin America* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1996) pp. x + 238.

The process of political negotiation at the elite level which aims to ensure common 'game rules' for successful transitions to democratic rule is finite and short-lived; the dynamic of democratisation, on the other hand, is neither limited nor as simple. It cannot be a result of elite pact-making. The process of turning a 'formal' democracy into a 'substantive' democracy – in other words, from a democracy characterised by free, multiparty elections and freedom of association and information, to one in which citizenship is widespread and effective and in

which civil society has a sustained capacity to intervene in the political process – is infinitely complex, requiring social, economic and institutional transformations.

This volume discusses the various conceptual issues and practical bottlenecks which exist regarding Latin America's process of democratisation. It focuses on two related central issues: the construction of citizenship and the cultivation of respect for human rights. The book is divided into four parts, each discussing a different dimension of these questions. The first examines how democratising governments have dealt with the issue of human rights violations committed by outgoing military regimes; the chapter by Garretón argues that backward-looking policies need to be a part of a wider reform policy to democratise military forces and transform the judiciary into an effective protector of human rights. Acuña and Smulovitz, on the other hand, focus more concretely on the role that the military play in this transitional drama.

The second part examines the role of international human rights networks (by Sikkink) and the negative impact that the adoption by the Guatemalan military of a human rights discourse can have on human rights practices (Schirmer). Part three discusses key conceptual issues of democratic citizenship; the chapter by Wanderley Reis – one of the best in the volume – provides an acute examination of the complex theoretical and practical relations between the nature of the state, the market and the consolidation of democratic citizenship. Jelin's chapter similarly discusses the more theoretical aspects of the links between citizenship and rights.

The fourth section of the book deals with the question of individual and collective rights and the contradictory logics pursued by each conception of rights. While Stavenhagen and Jelin attempt a more theoretical approach – Stavenhagen's discussion of indigenous rights intelligently highlights some of the theoretical and practical contradictions arising from different conceptions of rights – Hasenbalg and Caldeira's chapters adopt more of a case study approach, examining the question of race, violence and discrimination in Brazil. Both subjects are most often discussed by human rights organisations and rarely emerge in a more academic or theoretical analysis.

This book highlights the importance of three wider processes affecting citizenship and rights; the links between the various types of rights and their sequential expansion in Latin America; economic rights and processes of marginalisation under market economies; and finally, the importance of the simultaneous and contradictory processes of globalisation and re-nationalisation on the theory and practice of rights and citizenship. Overall, the volume provides the reader with an insightful and multidimensional discussion of key issues for the study of processes of democratisation.

Irela, ALEXANDRA DE BRITO
Madrid

Maria Dakolias, *The Judicial Sector in Latin America and the Caribbean: Elements of Reform* (Washington, DC: World Bank, technical paper no. 319, 1996), pp. xvi + 79, $8.95 pb.

In recent years reform of the judiciary in Latin America has become a key area of concern for both policy-makers and academics. In a context of rising demand

for judicial services, the system in Latin America is in crisis: as Dakolias states, in 1993 there were roughly 500,000 cases pending in the Ecuadorian court system; in 1992 a million cases were stacked up in the Argentine Federal system; and by 1993 over 4 million cases were awaiting trial in Colombia (p. xiii). Improving the efficacy of the rule of law is essential for three reasons: first, to ensure the legitimacy and consolidation of democracy; second, to guarantee the success of economic liberalisation and integration; and lastly to tackle the rising problem of 'law and order' currently besetting the region. The World Bank is among a host of bilateral and multilateral institutions now engaged in assisting Latin American governments to modernise and reform their judicial systems; it has coordinated programmes in Argentina, Venezuela and Bolivia, and has projects in preparation in both Peru and Ecuador. The remit of the Bank is to focus on democracy and economic development, therefore this publication does not specifically address the criminal justice system (where USAID, for example, has focused much attention). However, it has much to offer to those interested in the theme of judicial reform in general.

Dakolias attempts to define the elements of an overall judicial reform programme which can be adjusted to country-specific needs. The main proposals advanced are six-fold: first, guaranteeing judicial independence, through such measures as changes to judicial budgeting, appointment, disciplinary and evaluation systems; second, improvements in court and case administration and procedural reforms to speed up the judicial process; third, the provision of alternative dispute mechanisms, such as arbitration, mediation and justices of the peace (for example, the programme of lay justices currently in existence in Peru), particularly to improve access for the poor; fourth, enhancing public access to justice, through official translation services and legal aid programmes (a woefully under-resourced area; as the book points out there are only 21 public defenders for the whole of Ecuador, for example); fifth, the incorporation of gender issues into the reform process, which the Bank identifies as important to achieve its wider goals of poverty alleviation and economic growth; and lastly improvements in judicial training. The main body of the book elaborates on these six points within the Latin American and Caribbean context, providing useful data and a series of technical recommendations.

Dakolias emphasises that the planning, implementation and long-term success of country-specific programmes will depend on consensus-building across the judicial sector and a participatory approach to reform. The Bank's stated aim is an effective judiciary in order to achieve the wider goals of 'promoting private sector development, encouraging development of other societal institutions and alleviating poverty' (p. xi). However, the relationship between these three elements could have been further developed: the historical record in Latin America suggests that promotion of economic growth is a necessary but insufficient condition to alleviate poverty. Nonetheless, the fact that international lending institutions such as the WB are now linking these elements in an integral approach to judicial reform is a hopeful sign and offers many opportunities to make judicial systems in Latin America more responsive to needs of the poor and traditionally marginalised groups, such as indigenous peoples (the greater recognition of customary law, which is not addressed in the book, is critical in this respect).

Inevitably perhaps, the book does not address the wider political causes of

inefficient judiciaries, such as impunity, corruption or *narco-trafico*, nor does it address the broader question of who decides which rights and obligations a judicial system protects and enforces. Nonetheless, Dakolias provides an essential and accessible contribution to the literature on this complex and fascinating subject.

Institute of Latin American Studies, RACHEL SIEDER
London

Peter H. Smith (ed.), *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1995), pp. xvii + 310, $59.95, $16.95 pb.

This book forms the opening volume in a series designed to demonstrate the desirability and feasibility of examining Latin America from 'a global perspective' and in doing so to bridge the gap between area studies and mainstream social science. Although judgement about whether these aspirations are realised must, of course, await the publication and dissemination of the broader programme of writings described in the book's preface, this first offering allows a taste of many of the themes and issues which are likely to receive a more extensive airing in future output. The opening chapter is a clear-minded review of the track record and potential benefits of, primarily, quantitative, comparative research for Latin American studies. It also makes claims for the focus of the book by listing a set of questions (p. 2) pertaining to the uses of the comparative method, statistical analysis and game theory for understanding Latin America. Despite a brief introduction at the start of each of the three main sections of the book, however, it is not always clear how some of the ensuing chapters address this relatively precise agenda.

The first section is entitled 'analytical strategies'. Gary Gereffi's chapter on cross-regional comparison makes use of his previously published work on development strategies and commodity chains and contains an overview of Charles Tilly's framework of comparative analysis. He ends with an advert for the use of qualitative interviewing (such as those he himself uses) in this sort of research. Amparo Menéndez-Carrión and Fernando Bustamante discuss the various levels at which comparative analysis can be undertaken and consider in detail the specific topic of *intra*-regional comparison. They present a convincing account of the issues involved in the design of such comparative research, and pose some likely themes which may be addressed in intra-regional analysis in Latin America. Barbara Geddes' chapter involves of necessity brief but careful considerations of many of the issues involved in applying rational choice to political analysis in general, and Latin America in particular. She deals with a range of criticisms of the approach in an effective and informative manner, without being blind to their implications.

The next section is entitled 'conceptual issues', although much of it turns out to be substantive in focus. Jaquette attempts the difficult task of both criticising mainstream comparative researchers for their neglect of gender as a topic, and attempting to get feminist theorists to accept evidence in place of dogma. Her criticism of mainstream research for its simplistic characterisations of women (p. 112) is not helped by her sweeping claim, drawn from rather limited evidence, that 'Women understand their political attitudes and beliefs in terms of concrete

personal histories rather than as commitments to abstract principles or party platforms'. (Readers who are aware of the extensive research programme derived from work by Philip Converse might also argue that it is not only women who have this tendency.) Her advocacy of a positivist methodology for gender research may be received negatively by many of its current practitioners who, as she notes (pp. 126–7), reject such empirical analysis. David Collier explores the 'trajectory of corporatism as a concept in the Latin American field' (p. 135). He reviews many of the conceptual distinctions and debates in the literature, but observes that 'the Latin American field has seen a significant decline in scholarly interest in corporatism' (p. 153), and provides some good reasons why this has been the case, whilst observing the need for an 'effort to reduce confusion and build productive insight' (p. 156) into such analyses. Evelyne Huber presents a programmatic essay on the need for studies of 'state strength', and on the way explicitly rejects the quantitative approach advocated in the editor's opening chapter. Frederick Turner addresses his chapter on political culture directly to Latin American specialists. He includes examples of data on indicators of democratic culture from Latin American countries and elsewhere, and contributes effectively to the aims of the book. Among other issues, his use of public opinion data bears upon the question of how many political cultures there might be in Latin America, and engages with shibboleths to good effect. Despite the title of 're-assessing political culture', however, the chapter in the main provides an elaboration of the application of this research tradition, rather than an assessment of its strengths and weaknesses.

The final section concerns 'the political roles of social science'. This seems to amount to reviews of the political character of public opinion research in selected countries. Catherine Conaghan certainly provides an interesting analysis of the use of public opinion polls in 'Peru's Fuji-golpe'; while Miguel Basáñez contributes a useful review of the development of polling in Mexico. Bashkirova's chapter is less obviously relevant in that it concerns only Russia, and does not attempt to relate Russian experience to that of Latin American countries. The editor likewise makes no attempt to draw any of the (presumably) relevant comparative inferences that might usefully have appeared in this chapter.

The book contains a wealth of commentary and advocacy from an impressive range of authors. Unfortunately, as with many edited volumes, the contents, although in most cases well-focused, are at times uneven. It could perhaps have been more persuasive if there had been fewer chapters but with greater consideration of their implications. It might also have benefited from a concluding chapter which pulled it all together and addressed some of the rather different messages that spring forth from many of the contributions. Latin American specialists might be forgiven for wondering how these disparate and at times competing approaches might work to clarify rather than confuse the problems of understanding which they, as researchers or teachers, might face. That said, however, the stated aims of the book are laudable, and its scatter-gun approach at least gives area specialists – and other readers who are interested in summaries of a wide range of 'perspectives' in political science – a useful compendium of writings from which to extract themes of interest.

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Oxford

GEOFFREY EVANS

Tom Farer (ed.), *Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. xii+416, £32.00 hb, £16.50 pb.

The gradual, albeit still incomplete, democratisation of Latin America and the Caribbean during the last two decades has had profound consequences both for the people of the region and the way in which the states relate to each other. Some of the founders of the modern inter-American system understood the equation – recently rediscovered – between democracy and peace. In November 1945, Uruguay's Foreign Minister Eduardo Rodriguez Larrerta sent a note to other governments in the Americas stating that the 'the parallelism between democracy and peace must constitute a strict rule of action in inter-American policy'. He opposed a rigid interpretation of the non-intervention principle because he feared it could be used as an instrument to defend dictators rather than democrats.

Rodriguez Larreta's views did not prevail, but they were not ignored. The Rio Pact and the OAS Charter juxtaposed the two principles, proclaiming (Article 2, b) that one of the purposes of the OAS was 'to promote and consolidate representative democracy [but] with due respect to the principle of non-intervention' [pp. 134–5]. As long as there was a critical mass of dictators in the Americas, the principle of non-intervention was used to prevent collective efforts on behalf of democracy. But in 1991, as democracy waxed and the Cold War waned, the hemisphere began seriously to contemplate such collective mechanisms. That is the subject of this path-breaking book edited by Tom Farer and sponsored by the Inter-American Dialogue – to discuss ways that the Americas would more effectively defend and advance democracy.

Edited volumes are notoriously uneven in quality and theme, but *Beyond Sovereignty*, with fifteen chapters organised in four parts, is an exception. Farer writes with perceptiveness and wit and combines the creativity of a first-rate scholar with the practicality of a policy-maker. He also extracted the best from a well-respected group. More than two years ago, I commented that the two theoretical chapters stretched the frontier of our knowledge; both have been improved and updated in the book. Fernando Teson demonstrates that the domain of domestic jurisdiction has shrunk while the area for the legitimate use of collective force has expanded. Larry Diamond delves below the common perception that Latin America has become democratic to find that idea only half accurate. He offers a more subtle and nuanced definition of the democratic challenge in the Americas, arguing that consolidation is only possible if democracy is deepened by stronger institutions, particularly of political parties.

The second part of the book explores the role of non-state actors. Domingo E. Acevedo and Claudio Grossman are refreshingly candid on the OAS's flaws, knowledgeable about the evolution of policy on democracy promotion, and extremely helpful in explaining the debate on the issue among OAS members. David Forsythe explains that the United Nations was initially reluctant to address the issue of democracy but eventually blossomed to play an important role in El Salvador and Guatemala. Kathryn Sikkink discusses the role of non-governmental groups, mostly on human rights but increasingly on issues of democracy. Joan Nelson and Stephanie Eglinton show that conditionality and sanctions are more likely to work when the target places a high value on its external relations or when the objectives are modest and specific.

Country studies – on Haiti (Anthony Maingot), El Salvador (Patricia Weiss Fagen), Chile (Alicia Frohmann), and Peru (Scott Palmer) – and comparative analyses of the cases by Anita Isaacs and Karen Remmer demonstrate that national actors are key to democracy's success, but the international community has often been helpful and sometimes critical.

Altogether, it is an exceptionally well-written text on one of the hemisphere's most important challenges. Unfortunately, with the exception of Farer, Dominguez and Dresser, there are few policy recommendations and little discussion of these.

Dresser shows that 'the intersection of domestic and international attention has proved to be a catalyst for reform' of elections in Mexico, and she proposes a number of other 'prescriptions for treading lightly and without a stick' to press the authoritarian system to open. In dismantling its tariff walls in NAFTA, the Mexican government has found it more difficult to dismiss foreigners talking of democracy. That's one reason why Dominguez writes that the first step needed to 'unfreeze Cuban domestic politics' is the 'unfreezing of U.S. policy' (p. 310).

Farer generalises from that point: 'Civil society does not thrive when participants are threatened.' Therefore, the challenge is to find a way 'to expand the space for civil society and to foster within that space institutions for aggregating and advocating the preferences of all social groups' (p. 21).

Beyond Sovereignty documents a fundamental change that has occurred in the relations between states in the hemisphere largely because they are now democracies. Recognising their fragility, the new democracies are now willing to interfere collectively in each other's affairs to defend and strengthen democracy.

Emory University and The Carter Center ROBERT A. PASTOR

Gordon Mace and Jean-Philippe Thérien (eds.), *Foreign Policy and Regionalism in the Americas* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner, Publishers 1996), pp. ix + 253, $40.00, $19.95.

Regionalism seems to be on the rise in the Americas. Hardly a month passes without an agreement being signed or a new initiative announced. Regionalism – be it in its Latin American or hemispheric variants – is viewed as a pre-condition for securing effective competitiveness, improved positions in global markets and increased negotiating capacity in the field of international economic relations. Regionalism is also regarded as a way to reap the benefits of global interdependence and face new challenges which transcend national boundaries, like the promotion of human rights and democracy, the management and exploitation of shared resources, sustainable development, the regulation of drug trafficking, and the non-proliferation of arms of mass destruction.

This volume of essays provides a good general description of the position of key countries of the Western Hemisphere towards the rise of new regionalism in the Americas. In the introduction, Gordon Mace and Jean-Philippe Thérien, two Canadian scholars, delineate the basic elements of the expansion of regional cooperation in the hemisphere. They rightly assert that we are in the midst of a significant period of transition in the structuring of the region, but they recognise that it is difficult to determine precisely the nature, extent and scope of this new regionalism. Although the historically different and competing visions of

economic and political relations in the Americas that existed prior to the 1980s – one originating in the North, the other in the South – are being superseded, it is by no means clear that all the countries of the hemisphere are adhering to the same vision of regionalism. The editors have assembled a collection of ten case studies, including the United States, Mexico, Canada, Jamaica, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Brazil, Argentina and Chile. The countries are well chosen, but one misses a case study of a Central American country, in view of the long tradition of regionalism in the Isthmus. All the chapters were structured around three basic questions: How has each state been affected by recent transformations in the international system? How have national governments reacted to these transformations in the general orientation of their economic and foreign policies? What place does regionalism currently occupy in the foreign policy of each country?

The articles included in the volume offer different responses to these questions. Although all countries are redefining their future insertion in the world economy, the final direction and precise implications of their regional and subregional alignments remain uncertain. Whereas the United States keeps a rather ambiguous posture towards economic regionalism in the Americas, as exemplified by the postponement of negotiations for the adhesion of Chile to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Canada's commitment seems to rest on firmer grounds. Latin American attitudes towards regionalism also tend to vary. While Mexico is engaged in an economic integration process with the United States and Canada, Brazil has opted for a subregional approach within MERCOSUR, which is not considered as the onset of an inevitable hemispheric integration. Although the article on Argentina does not deal directly with the issue, there remains a certain tension between Argentine and Brazilian views in this regard, despite the unprecedented economic cooperation between both countries in recent years. Differences are also apparent between Chilean commitment to open regionalism and the preference of other Latin American countries for customs unions and more demanding integration schemes. The articles on the countries of the Andean Pact also illustrate the different approaches to regionalism in that area.

A major advantage of *Foreign Policy and Regionalism in the Americas* is that it offers a useful review of the process of new regionalism in the Americas and does so in a concise and readable fashion. Although in some case studies regionalism receives only scant attention, and theoretical discussion is sometimes overcome by mere description, such lapses are inevitable in a survey of this type. Overall, the volume provides a good review of the subject.

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ALBERTO VAN KLAVEREN

Andrew Gamble and Anthony Payne (eds.), *Regionalism and World Order* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. xi + 282, £40.00, £12.99 pb.

As the editors make clear, this book seeks to assess the origins, significance and probable evolution of the trend towards regionalism within the world order of the 1990s. Regionalism is conceived as a 'state-led or states-led project designed to reorganise a particular regional space along defined economic and political lines' (p. 2) and the Introduction reviews some of the theoretical issues underpinning recent regionalist analyses. It is much concerned with the question

of hegemony, rejecting neorealist hegemonic stability theory in favour of the 'new', neo-Gramscian international political economy associated with Robert Cox and his followers. This approach sees the decline of US hegemony over the capitalist economy, the structural power of internationally mobile capital, and the internationalisation of the state as three critical features of the post-Cold War world. Both here and in the editors' concluding chapter the resurgence of regionalism is viewed predominantly within this framework.

Thereafter we have two chapters on each of the three macro-regions, Europe, the Americas and Asia–Pacific. On Europe Stephen George provides a briskly written and useful survey of the evolution of the EU and the main issues facing the EU in the 1990s which nicely highlights the increasingly divergent national conceptions of the European project. This is followed by Ian Kearns on 'Eastern Europe in Transition into the New Europe', who concludes that 'the project of copying and joining the West is unlikely to succeed' (p. 8). Anthony Payne's chapter looks at the Americas mostly from the US perspective. It covers the fully range of issues that dominate the inter-American agenda, pointing out the contradictions between the economic, political and security agendas of the USA and the variability of US concern. It also provides a valuable picture of the fragmentation of the US 'national interest' towards the region. Jean Grugel considers the same ground more from the Latin American viewpoint, arguing that '[T]he new map of the Americas creates a small group of privileged LAC states, ideologically and economically located in close proximity to the US, with access to Washington, and a hinterland of others, which may adapt to the new agenda but have little to gain from it' (p. 140). Given the book's concern with hegemony and with cores and peripheries, Brazil's role within South America receives rather little attention. Moving to Asia–Pacific, Glenn Hook looks at 'Japan and the Construction of Asia–Pacific' and argues that whilst Japan has become involved in regional initiatives and whilst functional links have expanded, '… this great show of independence presently is not aimed at replacing the United States and establishing an independent regional role for Japan' (p. 201). Finally, Ngai-Ling Sum provides an excellent analysis of the NICs and East Asian regionalism. More than elsewhere this chapter highlights the role of competing identities and identity struggles in the process of regional development. And both the Asian chapters underline the extent to which autonomous security logics play a far more important role in regionalist development than the rather economistic perspective pressed by the editors. Overall, then, this is a very welcome addition to the literature on comparative regionalism.

Nuffield College, Oxford ANDREW HURRELL

Alicia Re Cruz, *The Two Milpas of Chan Kom: Scenarios of a Maya Village* (Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. xi + 203, $24.95 pb.

David Frye, *Indians into Mexicans: History and Identity in a Mexican Town* (Austin, TX, University of Texas Press, 1996), pp. viii + 250, $40.00, $19.95 pb.

Alicia Re Cruz's book is an experiment in writing ethnography as much as a study of social and political change in the Yucatec Maya community made famous by Redfield and Villa Rojas. Its focus is the conflict provoked by migration to the

resort city of Cancún, as an old cattle- and land-owning elite was challenged politically by a new one composed of more successful migrant families. Although both factions sought legitimation through association with different branches of the community's founding family, the defeat of the old *cacical* faction by the migrants, backed by the ruling party at state level in 1987, reflected transformation whose contested nature was highlighted in the following year as local people read symbolic meaning into the destruction wrought by hurricane Gilbert.

The author writes herself extensively into her ethnography: to deepen her understanding of the meaning of *milpa* in rural life, she chose to cultivate her own, theoretically a transgressive act for a woman, though moderated by her outsider status. She also worked in Cancún itself, in the time-share sales force of an hotel employing five people from Chan Kom. Though her working experience was presumably different from that of the latter, she argues that her background as someone raised in a low-income neighbourhood of Madrid made sharing the poverty of Maya migrants in the *colonias populares* of Cancún a reliving of her own past. This self-positioning does help us understand how she reached her interpretative conclusions and the issues that arose for her on the way. Nevertheless, a tendency to overwrite in the cause of reflexivity was beginning to grate by the concluding chapter, which recapitulated how her strategy of ethnographic representation replicated the theatrical logic of the play. The book still reads like a thesis in its early stages, where literature and theoretical positions are surveyed before we have a clear perspective on the research issues to be tackled, and the number of errors which escaped the vigilance of the copy editor is embarrassingly large. Although it represents a very worthwhile attempt to write a reflexive ethnography whilst arguing that symbolic–interpretivist approaches can be combined productively with 'objectivist' analysis of process, the latter style of analysis is deficient in its purchase on wider networks and structures of power, especially in the field of politics, and I sometimes felt that a concern with representation impeded a full settling of accounts with theoretical problems.

David Frye's monograph is also written against the backdrop of critiques of objectivised styles of ethnographic writing, but responds to it in a different way. Although he brings the traces of the past that he found in ethnographic fieldwork into dialogue with archival material and vice versa, what he principally offers us is an historical work that shifts the focus from culture to identity and emphasises the continual construction and reconstruction of local histories and identities in political and social struggles. Frye's study community, the town of Mexquitic in San Luis Potosí, was, as the archival record shows, one of a series of places settled by Tlaxcalans used to pacify Chichimecs on the expanding northern frontier of the colony. Yet townspeople today see themselves as people who *were* 'Indians', of Chichimec origin. The ethical dilemma facing Frye was thus one of writing a history that would differ from that offered by his ethnographic subjects, a dilemma he resolves by observing, first, that it offers them a potential basis for rethinking their identity and the oppressive ideology that they have internalised, and, second, that he is only the latest of a series of outsiders who have played pivotal roles in the community's development.

The story that unfolds is certainly a fascinating one. After discussing competing histories of foundation and the passing of the era in which the leaders of Mexquitic proudly asserted their identity as Tlaxcalans, the book analyses the

entanglements of local officials, *hacendados* and secular priests in community factionalism Frye offers not simply a careful diagnosis of the role of the priest Lozano in the processes which made the villagers of Mexquitic enthusiastic participants in the Hidalgo rebellion – in counter-point to the post-revolutionary model of the priest's role which some of his ethnographic subjects has internalised at school – but also offers some useful suggestions on the significance of the 'pious anti-clericalism' that so many ethnographers have found to be the 'dominant tenor of religious life'. I am less enthusiastic about the chapter on 'Modern Politics', which covers the 'militarized caciquismo' of the Cedillo period, and, rather thinly, the period of the Gonzalo Santos *cacicazgo* and Salvador Nava's reform movement. These have, of course, been discussed by other analysts, including other anthropologists, but Frye seems happier dealing with earlier history. The final chapter on land as the central and enduring theme in Mexquitic identity does offer some discussion of disentailment, but the author does not attempt a fuller social history of the period between 1810 and the revolution. We are told that Nahuatl ceased to be spoken at home in the 1840s, and there are sporadic references to other events in the later nineteenth century, but given the book's focus on the historical forces which turned 'Indians into Mexicans' further attention to this period would seem called for. By reducing the contemporary denial of 'Indianness' to a legacy of colonial racial ideology, Frye ignores important nineteenth-century steps along the road to identifying the imagined nation, historical progress (and emancipation from older forms of elite domination) with *mestizaje*. This kind of combination of ethnographic and historical research nevertheless seems to offer greater possibilities for critical thinking about the processes underlying local constructions of identity and history than attempts to confront objectivist analytical models and the understandings of social actors on the terrain of ethnography alone.

University of Manchester JOHN GLEDHILL

Stephen Stuempfle, *The Steelband Movement: The Forging of a National Art in Trinidad and Tobago* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. xx + 287, £36.95, £15.95 pb.

Throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, musical forms constitute prime expressions of cultural nationalism, and the rapid development of the steelband in the years since the Second World War provides an excellent example. Next to Brazil, Trinidad has the most famous carnival in the hemisphere, and, in precise analogy to the Brazilian case, Trinidad's carnival became the occasion for the development of a national music, firmly rooted in the culture of the African diaspora. During the nineteenth century, groups of black street revellers thumped the ground with bamboo of varying length and diameter, producing together a babble of percussive voices. By the 1930s, tin cans of various sizes were taking the place of bamboo in carnival, and soon the players were learning to tune their metallic instruments by beating the bottoms into different shapes. So began the steelband – or 'pan' as it is often called in the land of its birth. Pan players refined their technique and their instruments and broadened their repertoire in the 1950s so that, by the time of independence in 1962, the steelband movement was able to serve as a full-fledged national symbol.

By the 1970s, the semi-official status of pan music had brought clientelistic ties

between various bands and the ruling People's National Movement, somewhat undercutting the oppositional appeal of the steelband. Some players consequently abandoned pan for more orthodox African drumming, for example, but the nationalist aura has not diminished. In 1992 the pan was declared the official national instrument of Trinidad and Tobago.

Stephen Stuempfle's marvellously textured book is certain to become the standard work on the development of the steelband. The theoretical perspectives of current cultural studies inform his interpretation but do not dominate his text, and his renderings of them are always usefully plain-spoken. The book's prose is consistently lucid and beautifully organised, never calling attention to itself, always making complex exposition seem deceptively easy. Stuempfle's eye is ever on the evidence. Intensive use of contemporaneous journalistic accounts and personal interviews provide a thorough empirical grounding and engender confidence in his judicious and even-handed conclusion.

The Steelband Movement will be of interest to students of Caribbean musical culture, the African diaspora and the formation of national identities. It puts proper (and now standard) emphasis on multifaceted patterns of contestation in the construction of national identities. Trinidad – with a population (41 per cent African, 40 per cent south Asian, 20 per cent mixed, and 2 per cent European, Chinese, Syrian, or Lebanese) unusually diverse even by Caribbean standards – provides an especially interesting example of these patterns. Thus, many among Trinidad's sizeable Indian population point out that the steelband (as well as the carnival festival that gave it birth and the calypso song form that often inspires the music) incorporates only European and African influences, representing the national culture in a manner that marginalises Indian contributions.

The Steelband Movement constitutes above all a case study, an exemplary illustration of current thinking. This is, at the same time, its great strength and its only weakness. Here readers will find a wealth of examples to confirm the concepts that inform the work, but they will find nothing to challenge or improve on those concepts. In other words, the emergence of the steelband, as presented here contains no surprises for those who share the author's theoretical premises. The author apparently found just what he expected to find, a situation that robs him of a vigorous thesis argument and leaves me, at least, a bit pensive about the relationship between our paradigms and our research.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill JOHN CHARLES CHASTEEN

André Corten, *Le pentecôtisme au Brésil: émotion du pauvre et romantisme théologique* (Paris: Karthala, 1995), pp. 304, Fr. 150 pb.

Ana Maria Doimo, *A vez e a voz do popular: movimentos sociais e participação política no Brasil pós-70* (Rio de Janeiro: ANPOCS/Relume Dumara, 1995), pp. 353, pb.

Richard Marin, *Dom Helder Camara: les puissants et les pauvres. Pour une histoire de l'Église des pauvres dans le Nordeste brésilien (1955–1985)* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier/Éditions Ouvrières, 1995), pp. 366, pb.

The publication of these three books shows not only that social movements, popular culture and religion in Brazil have been an area of growing research interest in recent years, but also that these subjects have proved to be a stimulus

to the creativity, the resourcefulness and the professional seriousness of those who have engaged with them. It may not be a coincidence that these qualities go together with the documentation of a certain disillusion, with a mood of retreat, with a sense in all the authors that the promise of a tentatively and unconsciously post-modern revolution was once again, a failed promise.

All is not disillusion or retreat, however. Ironically André Corten's book argues, on a theoretical foundation which is quite new at least in this field of inquiry, that Pentecostalism, with its praises, Hallelujahs and glossolalia portends the irruption of the poor into politics originally announced in prophetic vein by Liberation Theology and the 'People's Church'.

One theme, then, is the rise, and to some extent the falling away of the social movements which came to the fore in Brazil in the latter years of the military regime. A second is the role of the Catholic Church, as an institution, and of Catholic intellectuals – some clerical, some lay, and many at various stages of a transition between the two – in the shape and shaping of that curve. A third is, of course, the interpretation of Pentecostalism as what must now count as a mass phenomenon among the poor of Brazil and many other countries in Latin America, and throughout the world.

The books by Richard Marin and Ana Maria Doimo set new standards in the collection and analysis of the evidence. Marin has obtained access to the personal archives of Dom Helder Camara and those of the Archdiocese of Olinda and Recife. Ana Maria Doimo has shown, through her use of the Vergueiro Documentation Centre's unparalleled collection, that there are ways of assembling in a coherent and analysable way material gathered from that notoriously heterogeneous congeries of networks and organisations, the 'new social movements'.

Ana Maria Doimo's book establishes and refines two beliefs which have been widely – though not universally – assumed to be accurate hitherto: firstly, and simply, the reality of this '*movimento popular*' during the period 1975–90, and secondly the absolutely fundamental role played by the Catholic Church in its rise and sustenance. She reminds us that a sample of 102 people surveyed at the 'First National Meeting of NGOs' in 1991 found that 60% had 'affinities' with Liberation Theology and Base Communities, compared with 25% who declared an affinity with some variant of Marxism. She uses her familiarity with the academic sub-cultures of São Paulo to show the convergence between new directions in social theory (post-class struggle, broadly) and post-conciliar concerns in the Church. Concentrating on the semi-structured movements for price stability, housing, health, employment and public transport, she shows how they peaked in the early 1980s and then fell back. This is interpreted in terms of a convergence between the '*grande onda progressista*' of the Church and movements of the left, united in a '*logica consensual solidaristica*' (equivalent, surely, to what others have called '*basismo*'), which then suffers from a division, or perhaps rather a parting of the ways, as, in brief periods of party-political activity in 1979 and 1982, and then later after 1984, the '*logica racional-competitiva*' gathers strength. In all this process the discourse, the rhetoric and the symbols of post-conciliar Catholicism, complete with pamphlets and their highly standardised illustrative material, became a constitutive part of the movement. Such was the institutional backing received from a variety of Church-related institutions that it is legitimate to ask, in Brazil more than elsewhere, whether there was during this period a truly

discernible line of demarcation between church hierarchy and the 'progressive wing' of the Church.

This is where Richard Marin's excellent account of the tenure of Dom Helder as Archbishop comes in, for it provides reasons at least for suspecting either that this communitarian orientation was temporary and superficial, or that it was an affair of a small, active, vociferous, well-connected but – in terms of the Church – ultimately powerless minority. In this account Dom Helder is depicted as a person whose entire career, from his early integrist mistakes to his long and often courageous tenure as Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, was characterised by a political drive. For more than twenty years Dom Helder was a major international figure speaking out for the poor, and for some of that time he was under threat almost of his life from the military government. At Vatican II he played a critical role in galvanising bishops from developing countries and in shaping the final documents, especially those on the laity, and in Brazil he was the acknowledged spokesman for the '*face expressivo-disruptiva*' and the '*logica consensual solidaristica*' analysed by Ana Maria Doimo. Some of the documents he produced, notably the declaration by the Bishops of the Northeast entitled 'I have heard the cry of my people' were of historic importance.

But Dom Helder was too enamoured of publicity, especially international publicity. One can well imagine his colleagues wincing as he made scandalous speeches in front of military men, and asking themselves why he took such risks, especially when they might endanger his subordinates – one of whom, Fr. Henrique Pereira Neto, was killed by the forces of repression in 1969. Many may have had doubts about the depth of Dom Helder's administrative abilities, and especially his ability to carry through on his policies. For the most surprising aspect of this book is the demonstration that even within his own Archdiocese the influence of Dom Helder was limited: he had no influence in any of the educational institutions, including the Catholic University of Pernambuco, in his archdiocese; he evidently failed also to overcome the resistance of many parish priests to the work of consciousness-raising to which he was committed; devotional movements utterly unconversant with his approach to faith and the faithful proliferated; and of course the Pentecostal churches were making hay all over the Northeast. Dom Helder's pastoral work was restricted to a small coterie of intellectuals working in his personal team of advisers, and institutions like the Recife Theological Institute which depended directly on him or on funds donated for causes supported by him. It is now less surprising than it once was that the highly conservative successor appointed by Pope John Paul II in 1985 was able to dismantle Dom Helder's inheritance within four years.

Both these books, like many others written partly or wholly about the Catholic Church in the region in recent years, are in a curious way religiously unmusical. They describe and interpret the Church as a largely political institution – political both within and towards the outside – and pay little attention to ritual or belief. André Corten barely uses any material gathered in social investigation, but in his researches he was captured two or three central features of Pentecostalism and has ventured into a theoretical minefield by proposing sociological/discursive approaches to the cures, convulsions and crazes which sociologists usually find rather embarrassing. Though by no means oblivious to political matters, he is more concerned to document change in the religious culture of Brazil, and in particular the rise of Pentecostalism. Yet he too starts off from an account of

Liberation Theology and the 'People's Church' idea, and takes the experience of mass poverty as the element which unites this with his account of Pentecostalism. Others – myself included – have found it difficult to go beyond the straightforward observation that Pentecostalism, at least initially, has very striking success among the poor: the 'instinctive' view that it is a simple faith for simple people is unacceptable yet not easy to dismiss outright; the official Catholic view that it takes advantage of a need for 'mysticism' among a disoriented uprooted population is too sociologically conventional and unimaginative, and by the way too functionalist; the pseudo-Marxist view that it is a disguised political revolt is too mechanistic; the view that it is all a North American imperialist manipulation makes intellectual reflection appear as a waste of time … and so on. The reader can readily see that there is a hole at the heart of much work on the subject, and Corten calls that hole not God or faith, but 'emotion'.

Corten's analysis of Pentecostalism centres on making sense of the idea, drawn from J. L. Austin, of an illocutory utterance: an act undertaken *in* saying something, as opposed to the act *of* saying something. Deriving from St Paul, speaking in tongues is not speaking in 'other tongues' (as at the Pentecost itself, when the Apostles acquired the gift of tongues) but speaking in 'strange tongues'. This illocutory act – interpreted by Pentecostals as a testimony of the gift of the Holy Spirit – is an expression of the 'emotion of the poor' and stands in contrast to the 'common sense' understandings emerging from *basista* dialogue and spread by rational debate. Taken in combination with a variety of outpourings, praise-singing and the multiple cacophonies one hears in Pentecostal gatherings, glossolalia is interpreted as the distinctive pre-political voice of the voiceless – 'a force of transformation bereft of intentionality' (p. 215). Thus the mere fact that Pentecostalism and its discursive manifestations come from the poor makes them a radically different phenomenon from similar utterances in the middle classes; where the latter may be dismissed (quoting Hervieu-Léger) as 'the definitive folklorisation of religious language'. In his hopeful view, the babbling illocutions of charismatic religion is a voice of protest, incoherent for now and beyond the communicative arena of established political exchange, but with the potential to transform political discourse in society as a whole.

Corten also applies an impressive breadth of knowledge to place Pentecostalism in a world-historical context, reminding us that glossolalia has in the twentieth century acquired a prominence unknown since the early church, and also revealing precursors in North American evangelical Christianity. No one who has studied the phenomenon in Latin America can fail to be struck by, and to learn from, the echoes to be found there of the spread of Methodism and later of Pentecostalism, of revivals and holiness movements in North America. But above all Corten has had the courage to confront the issue of emotion. In doing so he has had recourse to discourse theory, to Lafaye's theory of narration, and to linguistics, in a contribution which obliges all those who write about the subject to think harder about the relationship between Pentecostalism and poverty.

In all, then, three excellent contributions – Doimo for heroically putting together a mass of disparate information and producing a coherent picture which surpasses most of what has been written on the *movimento popular*; Marin for demystifying, painfully, Dom Helder's achievement, and Corten for a truly original application of a diversity of social theories to some of the most disconcerting aspects of a most important phenomenon.

Cambridge University DAVID LEHMANN